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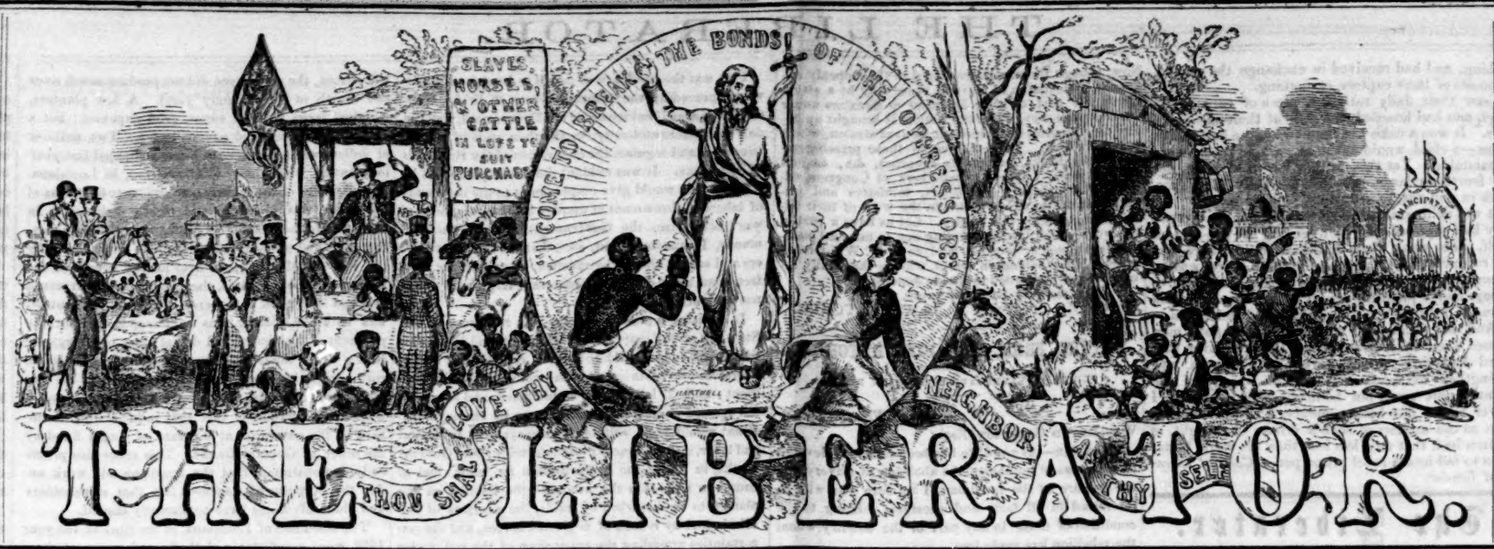

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Selections.

REMARKS
OF
HON. M. B. LOWRY, (OF PA.)
On bill entitled "*Joint resolutions relative to the war and the integrity of the Union.*"

Mr. Speaker, I consider *any* proposition for peace, on the part of the North, impolitic, because liable to be followed by evil and disastrous consequences. We have never yet made a peace proposition that has not been misunderstood by the enemy. Every such proposition naturally tends to combine and strengthen the insurgent forces against the government, to revive their fainting hopes and nerve anew their drooping energies. On the other hand, every such proposition has had the effect to demoralize us at home, interrupt the prosecution of the war, paralyze enlistments, divert public attention from the great work with which the people are charged, insure our national dignity, and weaken our national cause. Our cause is a just cause—it is God's cause. This war is God's method of working out the salvation of the American republic. It is the clash of two eternal antagonisms—it is a war for national regeneration and purification. With the conditions existing as they did, no human power could have averted this war. It might, perhaps, have been postponed, but the postponement would only have increased its intensity. When right and wrong collide, the concussion is fearful, but its consequences can never be doubtful. The weaker must crumble and vanish before the stronger power. Mediately or immediately the right will triumph, because it is strongest, and it is strongest simply because God is always on the side of the right. We, who are the commissioners through which He acts and executes His will, have but to stand firm, and the right will triumph.

"For right is right, since God is God,
And right the day will win;
To doubt it is disloyalty,
To falter is to sin."

Let it not be ours, then, to compromise the right. No truce to Satan, no "peace" to traitors while yet in the very act of treason. "There is no peace to the wicked, saith my God."

There is but one way to end this war. Those who took up the sword in behalf of slavery, and have sought the death of a Government that never wronged them, must either lay down the sword or perish by it. The national authority must be acknowledged and maintained on every foot of the national domain. And slavery, being identical with rebellion—being its corner-stone and its motive-power—must perish with it. Having conspired against the life of the republic, it must die that the republic may live. I am opposed to any attempted discrimination between slavery and rebellion. They are one and inseparable. Rebellion is simply belligerent slavery. It is slavery organized into companies, regiments and brigades, slavery in uniform, slavery on horseback, slavery in line of battle, slavery extending its long war upon the *black* race to a war upon the *white* race. We, therefore, destroy rebellion when we extinguish slavery, and we cannot crush the rebellion until we do crush slavery. With universal freedom cometh peace. I do but insist, then, that the rebellion shall be crushed, as the condition precedent of peace, when I insist that slavery must die. Whether I say rebellion or slavery, the meaning is substantially the same.

Congress has passed an amendment to the Federal Constitution wiping out slavery. I am not one of the number of those who think that the Constitution, rightly and rigidly interpreted, ever afforded any sanction or protection to slavery. We have been in the habit of taking the slaveholders' false and subtle interpretation of the Constitution for the Constitution itself. The slave power, through a half century of crafty and diabolical practice, succeeded in poisoning the whole country with this delusion. The Constitution was at the first "ordained to establish *justice*." Slavery established *injustice*. It has always declared that "no man shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law." Slavery robbed four millions of their liberty by the process of brute force. The Constitution "guarantees to every State a republican form of government." Slavery instituted aristocratic and anti-republican government in half of the American States! But I will not quarrel now with popular belief as to the anti-slavery powers of the Constitution. I rejoice that the Constitution is to be amended, since that places the subject beyond all disputation and all doubt. And I would go further than Congress has gone in amending that instrument. I would not only explicitly provide that slavery shall not exist in these United States, but I would also have incorporated in the organic law, that no State shall enact any law making any distinction among its citizens on account of race or color. I would so amend it that it should, for all time to come, be the rule, the principle, the fundamental law of the Republic, that there shall be no discrimination in regard to civil or political privileges founded on complexion.

Mere technical freedom for the black man is not enough. The absence of chattel slavery is one thing—equality before the law is quite another thing. As we outgrow slavery, we must also outgrow our slavery-begotten prejudices against those who have been its victims. The spirit of caste and prejudice, offspring of slavery, is scarcely less sinful and cruel than slavery itself. Nominal freedom is worth little to any man, or any race of men, without its safeguards. Let us not mock the black man by granting him liberty, and refusing him the means by which to protect and maintain that liberty. Let us not impose taxes upon him to support a Government in which he has no voice. For a like aggression upon our own rights, we resisted the British Government, and fought the battles of the Revolution. Are we now prepared to present to the world the spectacle of inflicting upon others an outrage which we denounced and resisted to blood when imposed upon ourselves? Enfranchisement is but the complement of freedom. Without political rights, the freed slave is virtually at the mercy of the mob. His liberty is a mockery; for, if he is not the slave of the individual master, he is the slave of society, and holds his liberty as a mere privilege, not as an absolute right.

The resolutions under consideration are, by no means, equal to the demands of the hour. They are correct, as far as they go, and I shall vote for their adoption. But had I the power, those resolutions should not "shun to declare the whole counsel of God." I would have them assert the necessity of reconstructing the American republic upon the broad basis of absolute equality before the law. In that reconstruction I should insist that the black element should be recognized. I would denounce the Heaven-defying proposition to restore full political power to the disloyal white men that have whelmed the country in war, clothed the whole land in the black uniform of woe and bereavement, that have starved our sons, murdered our brothers, and corrugated our once peaceful valleys with the graves of those we loved, and in the same act refuse all political rights to the brave and faithful black men that have fought our battles, and that have never ceased to love the flag, or to befriend our men and our cause. In the practise of absolute and impartial justice lies our only safety. For, though you rebuild the republic on a basis grand and broad, though its battlements be heaven-high and its towers kiss the stars, and though you cement it with the blood of all the martyrs slain by this fratricidal war, yet if it crushes beneath its ponderous foundations the inherent rights of a single member of the human brotherhood, the essential element of permanency is wanting, and the fabric will fall.

UNIQUE LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT.

The Workingmen's Association of New York recently passed a resolution, requesting David S. Coddington, Esq., to write in their behalf a congratulatory letter to President Lincoln, upon his second inauguration as President. Mr. Coddington complied with their request, and wrote the following characteristic letter:—

NEW YORK, March 4, 1865.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: I am deputed by the Workingmen's Association of this city to congratulate you, the hardest worker of them all, upon the noble work which, through you, free labor is achieving for free government. To-day your new administration steps into the circle of nations with a new America. The obligations of the past are dissolved. Reluctance to disturb an especial institution has been summarily cured by the awful vigor with which that institution has shaken and disturbed us. That branch of State rights which gives a State the right to destroy the nation has been confiscated by the nation. Violated democracy secures its safety and revenges its wrongs by withdrawing the right to degrade labor.

To-day at twelve o'clock you will again lay your winning hand on that Inaugural Bible, once moist with the warm, pure kiss of Washington. For thirty years your predecessors' Presidential lives have expired with their first term. How is it that you, reeking with conflict and gory with recreant blood, march to your second oath with a conqueror's strength and a savior's applause? How is it that you, who have exhausted more treasure, encouraged more taxes, hurled more thunder, and filled more graves than all the heroes and statesmen preceding the Constitution, than any other conqueror who has founded or distracted American empire, from Fernando Cortez to the German emigrant who struts under the pilfered crown of Mexico; how is it, with the *habeas corpus* suspended, Fort Lafayette in good working order, and errors committed, both political and military, you go to the Capitol to-day, riddled with flowers instead of bayonets; armed only with a Bible and a flag, swept there by no force but the overwhelming flood of warm and willing votes?

If to preserve the principles of Washington you have been obliged to destroy life with the prodigality of Napoleon, a discriminating people have consigned you to no rock but the solid constancy of the national approbation. They believe that if you have stretched power, it was to preserve power; if you are spilling your brothers' blood, it is to save your fathers' work. They know that the ferocity and discord of a few years mean the humanity and harmony of centuries. They see the yoke of a guiltless race falling into the grave of a guilty South, and they cry amen to a deed that punishes the rebel's broken oath with the negro's broken chain. Abstract virtue might exact a less selfish emancipation. But when we remember the trials of a people tied up with inherited evils, the struggle and the deliverance are not unworthy of us.

Some wise people think that to spare slavery now is to stop war. But as slavery was safely spared when it began war, what hope is there that a government which was defied when its debt was only eighty millions of dollars, will not be attacked when it is oppressed with a debt of two or three thousand millions of dollars? The debt alone must destroy slavery, or slavery will crush us with debt. Bring them back without emancipation, and this is their argument: "We hate you as ever because you hate slavery, because you are richer than us, and more than ever now because you have beaten us. We ground our arms because you are too many for us—that is no disgrace. You have grounded your principles to save more debt—that is contemptible. You have spent three thousand millions of dollars, endured great suffering, and here we are again with our old hate and our old institution back again, ready if you begin to cant and talk anti-slavery again, to fight you again, with a better chance next time, when you are staggering towards bankruptcy."

"Oh, but slavery is dead," says the opposition. This time the tomb is a dodge to get into the temple. If the war should run off every slave but two, and the South should come back with only Pompey and Dinah, they would in time breed back the real slave population, breed back the old brood of fire-eaters, conspirators, and armed enemies, and with the help of Vallandigham & Co. here, and of Laird & Co.'s English neutrality abroad, who doubts their ability for increased mischief? Those who cry ruin if we don't spare slavery, cried ruin if we reëlected you; cried ruin if you superseded McClellan; cried ruin if we resisted traitors. It is the favorite cry against those who differ with us. In 1824, Webster cried ruin if a high tariff was passed, in 1842 he cried ruin if it was defeated. Clay told the world that the Sub-Treasury was the knell of finance; and when a boy, I heard a distinguished publicist call Jackson a scoundrel, who should be shot; and I heard the same person very lately speak of him as all that was great and good.

Without abolition, what do we gain by blood and sacrifice? Not population or territory, for we fight no foreign foe; not colonies, or dependencies, for we bring back only our equals. It is nothing to punish unless we remove the cause of punishment. Is the great commotion to produce only railroads torn up and store-houses burned down? Is that in the 7-30 and 10-40 contracts? No, sir. The workingmen of this nation expect to work out of this war with the dignity of work fully established. As a skilful pianist only brings out the full tones of his instrument in touching all the keys, both black and white, so shall you, in using all the forces of free labor, draw out the grand harmonies of our national march.

Four years ago you were dodging assassins on your way to empire. To-day your safe conduct is written with the blood that oozes from a dying heresy. Four years ago you only rode to the capital through a gap in the democratic party; to-day you are there in spite of the union of all the elements that threatened the Union. In that anxious November contest how we held our breath for fear some other breath of popular caprice might waft some weaker hand to grasp the difficulty, might lift some lesser light to chase this Southern darkness from our land! The delicate and important point in that canvass was, how to elect you without spoiling you; how to trust your future without sanctioning all your past. Popularity so often exaggerates self-importance, that self-discipline sometimes relapses into self-sufficiency.

Heavy minorities are the healthiest monitors of successful candidates for power. Rulers will measure their duties by the distance between the possession of office and the possibility of its loss. In perilous times, while wielding immense resources, the temptation to play the despot is always strong. It is so simple, so direct, and so effective. In proportion as powerful elements are excited, are we stimulated to use power in grappling with them. But in the last Presidential contest the issues were so wide apart, the alternative so distinct and peremptory, whether we would surrender to a crime or get along with a few faults, many virtues and much experience, that whatever fear the people felt of demoralizing you with an extravagant approval, was lost in the pride of overwhelmingly extinguishing the degrading ticket that confronted you.

The people of this country are ever a hopeful people—hopeful of victories in battle, hopeful of reform in rulers. They do not believe that you will misconstrue your triumph, although you go back to the chair almost with the strength of a constitutional amendment.

You may have shaped the first for this second coming—your future rule can only prepare itself for a grateful immortality. Your election in 1860 was a political commonplace; the old story of "available candidate" and a party victory, born of Greeley's tactics and Buchanan's blunders. The North, too humane to love slavery, and too constitutional to disturb it, meant no mischief until the mischief-mongers of the South taught us how to beat them at their own business. No doubt the instincts of the nation would have gravitated in time to where war has hurried it.

All great reforms have been precipitated by the crimes or the weaknesses of individuals. The imbecility of King John gave England Magna Charta a hundred years before the intelligence of the age could have wrung it from the average energy of barbaric power. *Habeas corpus* was hastened by Charles the Second's love of women being more ardent than his love of authority. Common prudence in Lord North and his compeers adjourned the Declaration of Independence until the very hour that we have so powerfully proved our right to it. The South thought the North was playing billiards with the election of 1860. Cushioning on the territories to carom on the States. In pushing their cues too vigorously, they have only pocketed themselves.

No man ever assumed powers so disadvantageously as yourself. Some western lawsuits, a few stump speeches, and one unexciting Congressional term sum up the experience that was to administer a calamity fifty years brewing. Yet, directness of purpose and vigor of understanding have relieved us from the sad anarchy promised by the experienced inability that preceded you. You left home with a confused impression that something was wrong, but that it must all work right. Fond of a joke yourself, it might be possible they were only helping you to a new anecdote. A government so innocent could not be the victim of such guilt. You brought an honest heart to a deceitful era. You possessed neither the perceptions nor the wickedness to see the awful depths of the malignity that lay at the base of your election. When you stepped upon the deck, what wild disorder pervaded the ship of State! There lay the old pilot swooning at the helm, drugged with Southern opiates. There lay the Constitution torn in pieces by the wrestlings of its defenders—the very freedom of the system embarrassing all freedom of action, no pretext to justify wrong, no precedent to need it. How shall authority be exercised against the authors of all authority?

With a bewildered look you gazed on the ghastly gift of November, in doubt whether you came to Washington to attend a funeral or execute a contract. Office-seekers begging for office, patriots asking for a country; the rebel commissioners knocking for admission—not for the halter they had earned—but for their share of the ruins they had made; not ambassadors, but grave-diggers came for the body, prepared to bury American liberty under the dust of their rubbish platitudes. We all have our theories how they ought to have been treated, how much wiser our little wisdom could have managed the war. Ministers of great emergencies escape not great calamities. Censure now, immortality hereafter.

Washington shot in effigy by one State, moved to be impeached by another, the descendants of both contending for his autograph. If Jackson regretted at his death-bed that he had not hung Calhoun, no such sorrow can shade the dying hour of Abraham Lincoln. The shot he has poured into Calhoun's successors will rattle along the centuries for many eras of American history, to which saddest and profoundest calamity of that history he is indissolubly linked. If Jackson immortalized himself by rocking to sleep the infant disunion, what must be his fame who shall forever hush the full-grown demon?

If George Washington challenges the glory of the world for lifting up our race, what renown awaits him who redeems two! Saratoga and Yorktown snapped the American Saxon chain, but Grant's gripe chokes the wrongs of two races. Sherman's march guards the progress of the fallen, as well as the favored color. The South, which loses its temper in proportion as it loses its territories, attempts to stamp on the leader in all these reforms the degrading epithets of "tyrant," "buffoon," "Illinois ape." Unfortunately for them, unlike the African ape, his anger does not throw down at random luscious cocoanuts. The fruit are better aimed, and bear blood instead of milk.

The contest, though unfinished, is no longer uncertain. Calhoun's grave is in our possession. His theory is under the feet of our armed heroes. What peace shall parole the captured doctrine? As workingmen, respectfully but manfully addressing the master-worker, this Association bids you Godspeed.

DAVID S. CODDINGTON.
On behalf of the Workingmen's Democratic Republican Association of New York.

MR. CONWAY'S REPORT.

We have read with great interest the report of Rev. Mr. Conway, Superintendent of the Bureau of Free Labor in this department, to the Commanding General. It gives a concise view of the condition of the freedmen who are under the care and protection of the Government, and the operations of the free labor system which was instituted by Gen. Banks, in his celebrated Order No. 23—a system applauded by the best critics of Europe as a master-piece of statesmanship. The report before us furnishes the true standard by which the system must be judged, namely, its practical workings and its results. The average number of freedmen in the department, supported wholly by the Government during the year 1864, was one thousand, and the cost of their support was $113,426. Fifteen hundred plantations were under cultivation by military orders, and the number of negroes on these plantations, who were managed by the Bureau, was fifty thousand. It is in the history of the year's labor of these fifty thousand men that we are to look for the practical working of the free labor system.

The objections to the system of Gen. Banks came from two classes—the old planters, who had the opinion firmly fixed in their minds that slave labor alone could secure cultivation to the plantations, and the radical politicians of the North, who claimed that a principle of servitude was involved in it, and that it was opposed to the welfare of the emancipated. It was said that the planters would swindle the laborers out of their wages, and that the protection of the military arm would prove inadequate to shield the helpless negro from the crafty oppression and extortion of his white employer. The report before us is a complete answer to these objections. "I am happy to inform you," says Mr. Conway, "that though the year has been marked by unparalleled disaster and prostration to the agricultural interests, there will not be more than one per cent. of the plantations where payments will not be made and secured to the freedmen. This is more than any man, knowing the nature and extent of the losses of the planters, could expect to see. Plantations, whose laborers were supposed to be hopelessly deprived of their earnings, have been and are now being paid in full, under the wise provisions of labor regulations." So far as the planters are concerned, their losses, during the unfortunate year just closed, are not by any means to be attributed to the free labor system, but to the destruction of the crops. It was an act of nature herself, for which no man is responsible, and against which no human foresight could provide. There is no doubt whatever, that but for the destruction of the crops, the planters would have received most lucrative returns, and the year would have been crowned with extraordinary success.

The report gives a mournful picture of the condition and prospects of "the old land aristocracy." It declares that "the disaster of the past season has been so great as almost to sweep from their position nearly every planter in the Department of the Gulf. It is certain," we are told, "that another such year will hardly leave any of the old planters on their feet. Their estates are swallowed up in debt, and so covered over with mortgages, that with an additional weight like that of the failure last season, they would sink away, and the old planting aristocracy would be gone. Even with fair crops, it will be impossible to prevent a very early change in the ownership of the plantations. The thing is inevitable. I am informed by the planters generally that they cannot survive the shock which has come upon them from the war, the abolition of slavery, and the disheartening aspect presented in the loss of their fortunes, their sons, and their hopes which are all swallowed up in the terrible grave dug for them by this huge rebellion. They are now preparing to give way to new capital and new proprietorship." Notwithstanding the gloomy picture presented above, we hope that not a few of our old planters will survive their accumulated misfortunes, and share in the unprecedented prosperity which awaits Louisiana under the auspicious reign of peace and free labor.

Mr. Conway compliments the old planters for their fair and humane treatment of the freedmen in their employ, and states that, as a rule, they have paid them more promptly, more justly, and apparently with more willingness, than the new lessees from other parts of the country. At the same time, he tells us there are exceptions to this rule; that some Northern men who have come with their wealth to settle here, have done better for the freedmen than any others. "These treat the freedmen humanely, and in a manner which cheers and encourages them. They contribute cheerfully to their educational, religious and social welfare; and I only wish that the character of the few had been that of the many."

Mr. Conway acknowledges the assistance of the General Commanding the Department, the Governor of the State, and Brig. Gen. Sherman in his labors, and he concludes that, considering all the circumstances thrown around it, the free labor system has been successful.—*New Orleans True Delta.*

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

There are days in the history of individuals which are remembered—which are treasured in the heart—which are never forgotten this side of the grave. Nations, like mankind, have their days of joy, gladness, and exultation. Such an one was the last day of January, 1865. On that day the United States House of Representatives, by a two-thirds vote, passed an amendment abolishing involuntary servitude, except for crime, throughout the domain of the republic. This day, January 31st, 1865, should be a holiday, a day of thanks to God, a day of jubilee, henceforth. Freedom, sanctioned by Congress, and in harmony with the organic law of our polity, has been proclaimed to the children who have worn fetters of a system degrading to both body and soul. It was a noble act—an act which has been approved by heaven and earth, and must ever be regarded as a sacred and sublime incident in the legislative proceedings of 1865.

Congress merits the thanks of all, irrespective of party; but those liberal gentlemen of the Democratic party, who despised the tactics of the caucus, and cut loose from the influences of slavery, are eminently entitled to our regard, and deserving of the gratitude of every lover of his country, his fellow-men, and humanity.

One of the most gratifying signs is the hearty endorsement of those journals that believe in the spirit and obey the impartial maxims of genuine Democracy—that Democracy that permeates through every fibre and artery of our political, commercial, and social systems. These journals have battled for principles, have endeavored to exalt their party to success and power on the basis of national unity and the speedy extinction of an institution which was a disgrace to our intelligence and degrading to those who were compelled by birth and residence to tolerate it. These journals have proven worthy of their mission, and their editors have given unmistakable proof of their attachment to the true principles of Democracy, of their fidelity to the teachings and practice of the Church of God, their high sense of duty, and the love of justice which ever has found, as it ever will find, abundant room in the bosom of the honest and upright man.

We thank Congress for its excellent vote; we thank all who have said, "Well done, good and faithful Representatives;" we thank men of all parties who have been pleased at the good work of the 31st ult. We humbly and fervently thank God that, as far as in the power of the United States Congress, *negro slavery is abolished* throughout the land, and that the people and the respective State Legislatures are moving, with beating hearts and smiling faces, to crown the work so triumphantly and auspiciously inaugurated on the ever-to-be-remembered thirty-first of January, 1865. LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC!—*Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph.*

GENERAL LEE'S LETTER ON ARMING THE NEGROES.

HEADQUARTERS CONFEDERATE STATES ARMY, RICHMOND, VA., Feb. 18.

Honorable E. Barksdale, House of Representatives, Richmond:

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th inst. with reference to the employment of negroes as soldiers. I think the measure not only expedient, but necessary. The enemy will certainly use them against us if he gets possession of them. As his present numerical superiority will enable him to penetrate many parts of the country, I can't see the wisdom of the policy of holding them to await his arrival, when we may, by timely action and judicious management, use them to arrest his progress. I do not think that our white population can supply the necessities of a long war without overtaxing its capacity, and imposing great suffering on our people; and I believe we should provide for a protracted struggle, not merely for a battle or a campaign.

In answer to your second question, I can only say that, in my opinion, the negroes, under proper circumstances, will make efficient soldiers. I think we could do at least as well with them as the enemy, who attaches great importance to their assistance. Under good officers and good instructions, I do not see why they should not become soldiers. They possess all the physical qualities, and their habits of obedience constitute good foundation for discipline. They furnish more promising material than many armies of which we read in history, which owe their efficiency to discipline alone. I think those who are employed should be freed. It would be neither just nor wise, in my opinion, to require them to remain as slaves. The course to pursue, it seems to me, would be to call for such as are willing to come, with the consent of their owners. An impressment or draft would not be likely to bring out that class, and this course would make the war more distasteful to them and their owners.

I have no doubt that if Congress would authorize their reception into the service, and empower the President to call upon individuals or States for such as are willing to contribute, with the condition of emancipation to all enrolled, a sufficient number would be forthcoming to enable us to try the experiment. If it should prove successful, most of the objections to the measure would disappear; and if individuals still remained unwilling to send their negroes to the army, the force of public opinion in the States would soon bring about such legislation as would remove all obstructions.

I think the matter should be left, as far as possible, to the people and to the States, which alone can legislate as the necessities of this particular service may require.

As to the mode of organizing them, it should be left as free from restraint as possible. Experience will suggest the best course. It would be inexpedient to trammel the subject with provisions that might, in the end, prevent the adoption of reforms suggested by actual trial.

With great respect, your obd't serv't,
(Signed) R. E. LEE.

WHAT WAS THOUGHT IN CHARLESTON IN 1861.

Time brings many changes. The paper that in 1861 gave vent to the following outburst of braggadocio and treason is now a migratory institution, and before it ends its wanderings may witness as many transfers of location as the Memphis-Murfreesboro-Grenada-Jackson-Atlanta-Griffin *Appeal:*

THE NINTH OF JANUARY, 1861.

[From the Charleston Mercury.]

Great events crowd rapidly one upon another. Three short weeks ago, and the greatest event of the century upon the Western Hemisphere was transacted in Charleston. The Union of the States of North America was dissolved by the action of the State of South Carolina.

It appears to be a decree of history, that upon all great revolutions or changes of the Government of a people, the red seal of blood must be set. Yesterday, the 9th day of January, will be a memorable day in history. Powder has been burned over the decree of our State, timber has been crushed, perhaps blood spilled. South Carolina still maintains her liberties and her independence whilst there is "a single shot in her lockers." Blind infatuation is driving our enemies forward, and stroke by stroke the liberties of the South are being welded and cemented together.

The expulsion of the steamer Star of the West, from Charleston harbor, yesterday morning, was the opening of the ball of the Revolution. We are proud that our harbor has been so honored. We are more proud that the State of South Carolina, so long, so bitterly, so contemptuously reviled and scoffed at, above all others, should thus proudly have thrown back the scoff of her enemies. Intrenched upon her soil, she has spoken from the mouth of her cannon, and not from mouths of scurrilous demagogues, fanatics and scribblers.

Contemned, the sanctity of her water violated with the hostile purpose of reinforcing enemies in our harbor, she has not hesitated to strike the first blow, full in the face of her insulter. Let the United States bear or return, at her good will, the blow still tingling about her ears, the fruit of her own bandit temerity. We would not recall or exchange that blow for millions. It has wiped out a half century of scorn and outrage. Again South Carolina may be proud of her historic fame and ancestry, without a blush upon her cheek for her present honor.

The haughty echo of her cannon has ere this reverberated from Maine to Texas, through every hamlet of the North, and down along the great waters of the South-west. The decree has gone forth. Upon every acre of the peaceful soil of the South armed men will spring up as the sound breaks upon their ears, and it will be found that every word of our insolent foes has indeed been dragon's teeth, sown for their destruction.

And though greasy and treacherous ruffians may cry on the dogs of war, and traitorous politicians may lend their aid in deceptions, South Carolina will stand under her own palmetto tree, unterrified by the snarling growls or the assaults of the one, and undeterred by the wily machinations of the other. And if that red sea of blood be still lacking to the parchment of our liberties, and blood they want, blood they shall have, and blood enough to stamp it all in red. For, by the God of our Fathers, the soil of South Carolina shall be free!

☞ What a depth of humiliation has this haughty and vaunting State since reached!

BABYLON IS FALLEN!

So, at last, Charleston is ours—plucked like the golden apple of the fable, that turned to ashes in the grasp. The great news is like wine to the pulse. The early telegrams were thought too good to be true. What a picture was that which *The Tribune's* correspondent presented to us on Tuesday morning, of the Old Flag hoisted once more over Sumter, even though waving from an oar-blade for lack of a flag-staff! The rebellion is humbled in the city of its first haughtiness. Boastful, braggart Charleston skulks away from itself, and surrenders without firing a shot in its own defence! The only heroism of the retiring traitors was in exploding powder for the horrible burning of their own women, children, and old men. Having lately robbed both the cradle and the grave, they make a strange variety in their barbarous customs by now heaping the cradles into the graves. What a hideous sight saluted the bewildered eyes of the Union troops as they entered the city—weak and helpless human beings, scalded, burned and mutilated by those who ought to have their protectors; a city set on fire by its own garrison, when not a flame could touch the hair of an enemy's head, but only to singe and roast its own inhabitants! Terrible is the self-inflicted retribution which an all-wise Providence has decreed against this cocatrice's den. Except for Charleston, the rebellion would never have been; and except Charleston had been terribly scourged by the war, poetic justice would have failed. But "Vengeance is mine, and I will repay," saith the Lord. No battle, and praiseworthy defeat! No stout defence, and honorable capitulation! Nothing but the hanging of a hound's tail between his swift-running legs! O shame, where is thy blush? Was there any city in the South that specially boasted of its chivalry? That city was Charleston! Was there any that resolved to dig in its own fair streets, if necessary, the "last ditch"? That city was Charleston! O fallen Babylon! O elegant city of splendid lies, rear now a monument to thy shame, and inscribe the obelisk with the wisdom of Solomon: "Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall!" Now comes the question, Will it ever be worth while to rebuild Charleston? Is her name worth saving? Is her site worth a memory on the map? Is her sin less guilty than Sodom's, and should her punishment be less heavy than Gomorrah's? Nevertheless, out of her fiery ashes let a fair phœnix arise! Let the treasonable city, humbled by war, and purified by fire, make haste to cleanse and sweeten itself into a fit abode for Liberty and Peace! What are the signs of the times? The beginning of war saw Fort Sumter standing on a foundation of New England granite; the end of the war shall see South Carolina standing on a foundation of New England ideas! Wherefore, let us prepare to sing the great anthem,

"Peace to the nation and praise to the Lord!"

—*N. Y. Independent.*

THEN AND NOW.

Four years ago, Charleston was in a blaze of excitement. The fire kindled there a few days ago by the runaway chivalry was of another kind. Four years ago, you might read in the Charleston *Mercury* how Cotton was king, how England would hasten to make friends with and recognize the cotton kingdom, how the starving paupers of Lancashire would force Parliament to help the South, how grass would grow in Broadway, while the harbor and quays of Charleston would be crowded with the ships of England and France, coming on that errand of "direct trade" which was the fondest fancy of these curious free traders, whose declared purpose was to wrench commerce from its natural into unnatural channels. After four years, Charleston is a mass of ruins, deserted and fired by the boastful aristocracy; its battery has a fine crop of grass, and in its harbor a solitary blockade runner would hoist a foreign flag, if her crew had not prudently abandoned her.

Four years ago, Cotton was declared king—the other day his majesty was hastily burned up. Four years ago, the Yankees were declared a cowardly set of abject creatures, a hundred of whom were scarcely a match for one of the chivalry; the other day the chivalry did not wait for these Yankees, but ran away in the night, leaving behind only the wives and children of the poor whites whom they had forced into their armies—and leaving these without provisions, to starve, unless the cruel and barbarous Yankees had compassion on them!

Four years ago, the Sea Islands about Charleston were the pleasant residences of the proudest families of South Carolina—the other day General Sherman gave these islands to the blacks, and there remained not a white man to dispute possession. Four years ago, the rice coast yielded a handsome annual revenue to a few haughty worshippers of King Cotton—now these families are flying they know not whither, looking in vain for a secure hiding-place.

Four years ago, Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, in impressive language, foretold that out of the attempt at rebellion could come ruin, ruin, and only ruin. To-day there is no State in the South, and scarcely a county, which does not discover the truth of his words. If there is such a thing as beating common sense into the heads of the chivalry, some of them must have discovered before this that, to use a Southern phrase, they have waked up the wrong passenger. They persuaded themselves there would be no war; but they have been utterly destroyed by the war they provoked. They saw themselves, in fancy, masters of the civilized world—and behold they are fugitives from their own houses! They promised the Southern people peace, plenty, and a proud eminence over all strangers; they have brought upon their deluded tools war, pestilence and famine, bloodshed, widowhood and orphanage. They promised them liberty—which they had already—but they have given them, instead, what Governor Brown of Georgia calls an irresponsible despotism, turning into anarchy.

This is the work of the far-famed Southern statesmen. A statesman is a wise manager of the affairs of the commonwealth, a man who knows how to adapt means to ends, who foresees the future, who guides in the safest paths, for their happiness, the people over whom he rules. What sort of statesmanship is it to sow the wind, or to reap the whirlwind? What manner of statesmen will impartial history declare those to have been who began a war for the spread and perpetuation of slavery, but counted the cost so badly, that in the end they freed their own slaves to help defend their persons? What sort of statesmen are they who four years ago fired at our flag, firmly convinced that we would not fight—in other words, that it was perfectly safe to bully us? What sort of statesmen are they who have in four years reduced their own States almost to a wilderness?

It cannot be said of the rebel leaders that they ventured with their eyes open; that they deliberately risked all the ruin they have wrought. It was their blindness, it was their invincible conceit, their ignorant pride, their barbarous contempt for a

quieter and more industrious people, it was th[at] which led them to the fatal rashness of rebellion They were well, they would be better, they went to war, and they are irretrievably and justly ruined. The condition of the South, of which the desolation of Charleston is a fair picture, is the work of these Southern statesmen, these ambitious demagogues, who foolishly imagined that because they had bullied their way through Congress, because they had measured the meanness and sounded the cowardice of doughfaced democratic politicians, because they had won easy triumphs in conventions, because they had carried elections, as they raised cotton, by the force of threats—therefore they could manage affairs of real magnitude, and could dabble successfully in actual statesmanship.—*New York Evening Post.*

AT THE CONFESSIONAL.

We commend to our Copperhead friends, who have always sneered at the policy of enlisting colored soldiers, the report prepared by an Adjutant of General Lee's. Now that the rebels concede the valor and value of such troops, their allies at the North will agree that they are most excellent material for an army. Fort Wagner, Milliken's Bend, Port Hudson, and every field upon which black troops have fought, could not prove their bravery and discipline; but the word of Lee's Adjutant will doubtless convince those who have never had any opinions until they receive them from slave-drivers.

The paper of which we speak cites the conduct of the colored soldiers in our army, as well as the experience of every nation by which they have been employed, as proof of their peculiar fitness for the service. But the remarkable point of the document, which contains nothing new to those who are familiar with the question, is the admission throughout of the bitter wrong of slavery.

The plan proposes to give immediate freedom to those who do best, not the promise of freedom at the end of the war to all who fight. This is offered as the highest conceivable incitement to bravery and fidelity. But how can it be so if the blacks were made for slaves, and are happy and contented in that condition? What kind of an incitement would it be to an ox to tell him that if he moved fast, he should be thrown into the river at night? How would a fish be stimulated by the promise of being laid in a clover pasture?

Again, the plan argues elaborately to show that a soldier does not think; that an army is a machine; that discipline makes a man fight equally well upon any side. But what is the point of the argument? Slavery being the divine appointment for all men of African descent, and being also the most delightful position for them, why rely upon discipline to prevent their thinking? The more they think they are fighting to perpetuate their bondage, the more heroically they will behave, if it be true that they are born for it.

Since the debate was opened among the rebels, every word they say has convicted them of the consciousness of the foul injustice of slavery. It disproves everything they have asserted about the colored race; and how thoroughly contemptible it leaves the Northern toadies of the delectable system! What says Bishop Hopkins to this flying in the face of Providence? What says the Reverend Mr. Van Dyck to this departure from the divine ordination? What have become of the curse upon Ham, and the conclusive precedent of Onesimus? Whither has disappeared the divine purpose indicated in heels and shin-bones? The whole ghastly imposture collapses before the dire necessity of facts. They are as good men as we are, if they will only fight for us, cry the pale rebel chiefs as they feel the wind rushing before the coming Sherman.

Meanwhile, let the Copperhead ponder one question. If the slave-lords confess that their chattels are fit to be free, how long will it be before the good sense of the country declares that they are fit to vote?—*Harper's Weekly.*

THE FOURTH OF MARCH.

On this day President Lincoln enters upon his second term, amidst the benedictions of the loyal citizens of the United States. No man, in any office or at any period of our history has been so tried as he, and no man has ever shown himself more faithful to a great duty. His temperament, his singular sagacity, his inflexible honesty, his patient persistence, his clear comprehension of the scope of the war, and of the character and purpose of the American people, have not only enabled him to guide the country safely in its most perilous hour, but have endeared him forever to the popular heart.

Party hate has dashed itself to pieces against his spotless patriotism. Friendly impatience has long since hushed its hot criticism. Foreign skepticism and affected contempt at length recognize in him a purely characteristic representative of that America which conquers by good sense and moral fidelity. The history of the first term of his administration is the story of a desperate and prodigious civil war waged over a continent, and revealing the unprecedented power of a Government founded upon the popular will.

Such a war necessarily clothes the chief executive magistrate with extraordinary power. Yet it is the most significant tribute to the character of Mr. Lincoln, that his exercise of that power has been so purely patriotic that, after four years' experience of it, parties crumble away, and he is continued in his high office by the hearty confidence of the vast body of the people.

And that he is to-day inaugurated amidst universal applause, that the nation has not been deluded by the vehement party assaults which every civil war makes so practicable and specious, but has known and approved a man so just and faithful, is the noblest proof of the truly conservative character of that popular Government with which the name of Abraham Lincoln will henceforth be associated.—*Harper's Weekly, 4th inst.*

APPEARANCE OF RETURNED PRISONERS.

BEFORE RICHMOND, Feb. 25.

Two days after the storming of Fort Fisher, I went over the scene of that desperate struggle where Southern will yielded, after a seven hours' hand-to-hand conflict, to Northern valor. I thought it was one of the saddest sights of war. The storm of Porter's shell had left scarcely a foot of ground untouched. Dead bodies, as they fell, in all the horrid mockery of life, headless trunks, scattered limbs, shattered guns, here a Union soldier side by side with his rebel foe in the equality of death, there an artillery officer crushed in a heap beside his gun—a relic-hunter cutting off his confederate buttons—over and about all, riot and desolation, and a sense as if nature's economies had been insanely wronged, and her thought outraged.

But that picture, framed with death and ruin, was not to me so sad or pitiful as the sights I chanced upon yesterday near Aiken's Landing. At the rude river wharf lay two trim steamers, flying at the foretop Colonel Mulford's white flag. Across the river bend, a mile away, lay the Wm. Allison, the rebel flag-of-truce boat. A thousand rebels, just down from your sharp Northern air, marched ashore. A motley crew, but all warmly clad, and a hale, supple, robust set of men. They hooted, joked and jostled about as they pushed across the fenceless fields towards Cox's Landing. I knew we might expect every man of them on our front, musket in hand, within a fortnight. I saw but two or three with canes, not a dozen who seemed ill or weak. Why was the long train of ambulances sent down the line waiting?

My query was soon answered. Our prisoners turned over, back came a thousand of our boys, among friends again after their terrible captivity. I tell the sober truth—you cannot imagine the sight. It was a better "lot" than previous ones, the best that had been received lately, I believe. But the appearance was pitiful. Every ambulance was needed now, and hundreds hobbled or dragged themselves along through the drizzly rain and treacherous mud, on foot. A thousan dhungry, ragged men—or wrecks of men. Their faces had a sallow, pinched look that told of a slow starvation, and a cumulation of mental and physical suffering. Their clothes were in tatters, in many cases only held together by coarse strings. The pictures you have seen of bony, half-clad, famished men are no exaggeration. There was little cheering as they came under the old flag, but to every passer or spectator the pleadings of hunger. Crackers trampled in the mud, the old shoes and the cast-off clothing of contrabands even, were scrambled for as if they were gold. The wild, passionate greed of those men for food told a fearful story.

It was the same story from all—of months of shelterless exposure to winter storms, and of systematic tarvation. Many had been stripped of their own clothing, and had received in exchange the cast-off garments of their captors, or nothing.

I saw their daily ration, a piece of corn bread which one had hoarded as a relic of those miserable days. It was a cake less than two and a half inches across—a child would eat it at a single lunch, were it palatable. Yet this, with a morsel of meat, not one fourth as large, was all the daily allowance, week in and out, to grown up, hungry men.

It was deliberate, needless starvation; the system, only half supplied with fuel, feeding the life-fires on itself, till so weak that, if disease set in, there was no recuperation. I say *needless*, for there was no excuse for this cruelty by the rebels. They have *always* had a plentiful supply of the staples which form the prisoner's ration—corn meal and bacon.

And so, feeble and shivering, these poor men turned their faces homeward. Home! Even that word had little power to kindle dull eyes, and strengthen nerveless limbs. The wrongs of the months past could not be made right so easily. I never felt so like hating, *cursing* a fellow-being before as the authors of such a crime. I thought, as I often had, that any loss less than life were better than to fall into a rebel prison pen.—*Corr. of Cleveland Leader.*

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 17, 1865.

AN IMMENSE MEETING IN MUSIC HALL.

The Charleston Slave Auction-Block!

The lecture of Mr. C. C. Coffin, with the presentation of the steps from the slave-market of Charleston to the Eleventh Ward Freedman's Aid Society, was all carried through successfully at the Music Hall on Thursday evening of last week. The steps of the slave auction-block were placed upon the stage, and in front of the organ were suspended the large gilt letters —"MART," which was the sign of the auction establishment where human beings were bought and sold. Upon the desk was placed the lock of the outside iron door where women were examined before the sale.

Notwithstanding the very unpleasant state of the weather and the admission was by paid tickets, one of the largest and most respectable audiences ever congregated in Music Hall was convened on the occasion

The assembly was called to order at a quarter before 8 o'clock, by Dr. Julius A. Palmer, when prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Kirk. The Chairman then introduced Mr. Coffin in a few complimentary remarks.

Mr. Coffin commenced his address by describing the appearance of Charleston harbor, as seen by him previous to its recent occupation by our troops, and then spoke of his visit to Fort Sumter, and subsequently to the city. A vivid description was given of the desolation and ruin caused by Gen. Gillmore's guns during his long bombardment of the city. Several interesting and humorous incidents of experience and conversation with the blacks in Charleston were given.

The speaker then gave an account of his obtaining the slave steps, a description of the building where slaves were kept and sold, and their mementoes of slave power, and closed his remarks, which were frequently applauded, by presenting the steps to the Ward Eleven Freedmen's Aid Society.

Edward W. Kinsley, President of the Society, mounted the steps, and made a pithy, feeling and earnest speech, accepting the present in behalf of the Society; and after a feeling allusion to the uses which they had served, pledged his word that hereafter they should be used only to raise money for the education of the ignorant, for the clothing of the naked, and for the feeding of the hungry.

Mr. Kinsley called for the audience to rise to their feet, and give three cheers for Mr. Coffin, and the suggestion was practically adopted with great good feeling. Mr. Kinsley then sung, "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord," the audience joining in the chorus.

Mr. B. W. Williams read the following letter from John G. Whittier:—

AMESBURY, 9th 3d Mo., 1865.

C. C. Coffin, Esq.

Dear Friend: I rejoice heartily to hear of thy arrival in Boston with the relics of the Great Barbarism—the auction-block of the human flesh-market of South Carolina, worn with weary feet and steeped in tears!—the lock of the accursed prison-house!—the letters over its gates of despair! It is as if Dante had torn the dreadful inscription, "*Hope enters not here!*" from the doors of Hell, and borne it away with him to the upper world. It was well done on thy part.

Let these infernal hieroglyphics and symbols of the worship of the Anti Christ be carefully preserved. Lay them side by side with the racks of the Inquisition and the keys of the Bastile. Let them tell the generations to come of that most hideous form of human depravity which, priding itself on its evangelical purity, and with the name of Christ on its lips, bought and sold the image of God, and subjected body and soul to the base uses of lust and avarice. Let them be a wonder and a warning to all time.

I fear I may not be able to be at the meeting for presentation to-morrow. But I know that such men as Gov. Andrew and Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips will say the fitting word for Massachusetts and for Freedom on the occasion. Absent I shall rejoice with you, and thank God that I have lived to see the opening of the prison-doors.

Very truly thy friend!

(Signed) JOHN G. WHITTIER.

The Chairman stated that Governor Andrew was unable to be present. Rev. Mr. Hepworth was next introduced, and made a telling speech upon subjects suggested by the occasion. Wm. Lloyd Garrison was next called upon. On ascending the slave steps for the purpose of "putting the accursed thing under his feet," the scene was one of unusual interest and excitement, the audience raising thunders of applause and waving hundreds of white handkerchiefs for a considerable interval. Mr. Garrison spoke at some length, and was frequently applauded. Rev. Dr. Kirk made the closing speech of the evening.

BOOKS ON EMANCIPATION FOR BRAZIL.

The *Journal* has received the following letter from Rev. J. C. Fletcher, and not only hopes that it will be copied by our contemporaries throughout New England, but that it will meet with a generous response. It is a request that each one who may have any volume, sermon or pamphlet, historical, statistical or argumentative, on anti-slavery in general, or emancipation and abolition in particular, will forward the same to the address of J. M. Whittemore & Co., 114 Washington street, Boston. Brazil, with her enlightened Emperor taking the lead, has determined to do away with all that remains of the accursed institution, and the appeal that Mr. Fletcher makes is at the request of several Brazilian statesmen and of a high official:

BOSTON, March 11, 1865.

To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

I have just received a letter from Hon. Tavares Bastos, a leading member of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, requesting that I should send him immediately all the works pertaining to slavery that I can collect before the sailing of the English steamer from New York on the 24th of March. This is an addition to other requests of a similar character made me, when at Rio de Janeiro last autumn, by various eminent Brazilians, one of them a high official. Certain Brazilian statesmen have looked upon our struggle with intense interest; for while their own slavery will, by their own laws on the subject, doubtless become extinct in twenty years, yet there are a great many leading minds who desire to take measures for the extinction of bondage for the 2,000,000 slaves (there were, in 1850, 3,000,000 slaves) before a half decade shall have gone by. M. le Chevalier Lisbon, the late Brazilian Minister to the United States, told Prof. Agassiz last spring that in Brazil they were looking forward to emancipation, and the only question was, how was it to be done? The Emperor last October, on the occasion of the marriage of the Imperial Princess Donna Isabella to Count d'Eu, gave her, as a wedding present, the freedom papers of all the slaves which would have come to her as a marriage dower; and in other ways has he manifested his desire to take the lead in this matter. In September I had the pleasure of looking through the extensive private library of the Emperor, and, prompted by a pardonable curiosity, I picked up the last book which His Majesty had been reading: I found it to be an English copy of J. J. Gurney's Letters on the Benefits of Emancipation. Hon. Silveira de Motta, a Brazil Senator, brought in resolutions to check the accursed thing last session. Now, though the people are united in their openly expressed detestation of slavery, there may be a struggle on the part of some Deputies or Senators under various pretences, when the subject is brought up before the Imperial Parliament at its next session, which begins in May. Therefore come these pressing requests for books, pamphlets, speeches, &c., &c., on this subject. I appeal to members of Congress, editors of newspapers, publishers, ministers and private citizens, to all interested in the weal of their fellow-man, to aid in this matter. Let us have a part in the work which God is pointing out to us. All packages sent, post or express paid, to J. M. Whittemore & Co., 114 Washington street, will be thankfully received, and forwarded to Rio de Janeiro.

I remain very faithfully yours,

J. C. FLETCHER.

LETTER FROM HON. JOHN HUTCHINS.

FURTHER VINDICATION OF GEN. BANKS.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22, 1865.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Esq.:

DEAR SIR—As your life has been faithfully devoted to the cause of humanity, the abolition of slavery and the welfare of the freedman, I am sure you will be interested in all facts and questions relating to the condition of those in any part of the country whom the rebellion has made free.

I went from Ohio to New Orleans in the summer of 1863, and since then, most of the time, have resided there, participating in and observing the effect of the new order of things which the slaveholders' war has inaugurated. From what I have seen in Northern papers, I think the true condition and relation of those who were formerly slaves, in the State of Louisiana, have not been fully understood.

It will be recollected that the President's Proclamation of Emancipation of January 1st, 1863, excepted from its operation certain Parishes in the State of Louisiana. Gen. Banks, commanding the Department of the Gulf, on the 30th day of January, 1863, issued an order, the effect of which was to abolish slavery in those excepted Parishes; and since then, all persons within our military lines in the State have been regarded by the United States military and civil authorities as virtually free. At all events, the former slaves in the excepted Parishes have been treated the same as those in the States freed by the President's Proclamation.

On the 1st day of February, 1864, General Banks issued an order, regulating the employment of freedmen in his Department, fixing their wages, rations, &c. This order was intended to affect plantations cultivated by loyal owners on their own account, as well as the seized and abandoned plantations leased by Government to individuals. In fact, it was a general order, regulating the employment, treatment and compensation of all freedmen, subject to its jurisdiction. This order has been severely criticised, and I think in some instances by those who did not clearly comprehend the causes and circumstances which prompted its promulgation by General Banks.

New Orleans was occupied by our forces, under General Butler, in the spring of 1862; and the military authorities, at this time, did not undertake to interfere with the relation of master and slave in Louisiana. Neither Congress, nor the President and his Cabinet, at this time, seemed to realize that slavery and rebellion were one and the same. The policy of saving slavery and putting down the rebellion at the same time had a fair trial in Louisiana, and it failed. The year 1862, therefore, passed by, without any authorized interference with slaves in Louisiana, except in special cases brought to the attention of Gen. Butler, growing out of cruel treatment of slaves, or of the disloyalty of their pretended owners. Gen. Butler was prompt and efficient in his administration; but, to produce order and system from the chaos and confusion attending the abandonment of the country by the rebels, and its occupation by our forces, was not the work of a month or a year.

The President's Proclamation of Emancipation left a majority of slaves within our lines, in Louisiana, in a state of slavery; and plantations, except those abandoned by disloyal owners, for a time after the occupation of the State by our forces, were worked by slave labor. The abandoned plantations were worked under military orders, by the Quarter-Master's Department. Our military lines were gradually extended in the year 1863, and, consequently, new plantations and territory were embraced in our jurisdiction, and plantations came into possession of the military authorities, with crops maturing and well-nigh matured. Concerning these, no general system could be adopted. In some instances, persons were employed to secure the crops; and the freedmen were to have a share of the net profits. In other cases, wages were paid, but no uniform rate was established. There were complaints that the freedmen did not get their just share of the profits, and that some of the persons employed to take off the crops were not faithful to their trust, and did not treat the negroes fairly. There were also complaints that some of the laborers did not labor faithfully. There was so much uncertainty as to the compensation to be paid, that I have no doubt that some of these complaints were well-founded. It must be borne in mind, too, that many of the old planters, who adhered to the Government, were under the delusion that the negro would not labor without the terrors of the lash. They doubted, or affected to doubt, the efficiency of free labor by the negroes: they did not want it to succeed, and they could not, therefore, be relied upon as efficient aid in any plan that might be devised to develop the resources of the country, by giving employment to the laborers, made free without their consent and against their will. The disloyal planters, on the approach of our forces, abandoned their plantations, taking along as many of their able bodied laborers as they could coax or compel to go with them; and thousands in this way were spirited into Texas, where they now remain. Contrabands, within convenient proximity to our lines, escaped from their masters, with the hope of securing their freedom; and they supplied, in part, the deficiency of laborers occasioned by the removal of slaves by fleeing rebels. The territory occupied by our forces was subject to frequent raids by the rebels; personal property on plantations was carried away, growing crops destroyed, and the occupants taken prisoners or murdered. In no part of the country, which has been the theatre of this terrible war, has any system of labor or any department of industry prospered; and it must be borne in mind, that that part of Louisiana occupied by our troops in 1862 and 1863 was the theatre of conflict of fierce contending armies. Crops could only be partially cultivated and partly secured. The system of labor had been entirely changed. The laborers were distrustful about their pay, and the planters, accustomed to slave labor, doubted whether the laborer would work, if paid, and not whipped. Those from the North, who were disposed to give free labor a fair trial, were uncertain whether they could cultivate plantations in peace, and with safety to life and property. That part of the State of Louisiana occupied by our forces had not been regarded suitable, in soil and climate, for the successful cultivation of cotton; and for a long time before the rebellion, the raising of cotton had been abandoned there, and sugar was the staple of lower Louisiana. In consequence of the war, producing the condition of things I have partially described, in the spring of 1864 there was great scarcity of sugar-cane for seed—not more than enough to plant one-fourth of the land capable of cultivation—and the planter had to resort to cotton to supply the deficiency.

The stock, mules, plantation implements, &c., on many plantations, had been carried away by the rebels, or appropriated to the United States military service by our forces. The machinery in sugar-houses had been injured, and in some instances entirely destroyed. To work a plantation profitably for a year required a large outlay of capital, from $20,000 to $50,000, depending of course upon the size of the plantation and the number of hands employed; and a much larger sum when from forty to fifty mules had to be purchased, machinery repaired, and plantation implements to be furnished.

This was the condition of things in Louisiana in the winter preceding the planting season of 1864. General Banks, as Commander of the Department, was the only competent authority, in the then state of affairs, to control and regulate the cultivation of the rich lands of Louisiana. It was evident that some plan must be adopted that would give employment to the thousands of laborers, thrown out of employ by the exigencies of war; otherwise, the Government must be their almoner. It was important, also, that the late slaveholders and others should be satisfied, by experience, that free labor could be made a success. Argument would not convince them.

In devising a plan to develop the resources of the State, by giving employment to capital and labor, two things had to be considered:—1st, capital must have a liberal encouragement of a fair return for its investment; and, 2, labor must be promised, and secured a fair reward or just compensation for its employment. What would be a suitable encouragement to capital and labor, circumstances must determine; and General Banks, in fixing the compensation for labor, had of course to take into the account—the liability of the planter to be disturbed by raids, the overflow of the Mississippi by reason of neglected levees, and the uncertainties attending the cultivation of the soil, under the changed relations of capital and labor. If wages were too high, capital would not invest; and if too low, the laborer would be discontented, and would not labor faithfully.

I have not this labor order before me, and I state its terms from memory. It provided that the laborers should be paid as follows:—mechanics and engineers $10 and $12 per month; 1st class hands $8; 2d class $6; 3d class $5; and 4th class $3; with clothing, rations, quarters, medicines, and medical attendance. It also provided that the aged and infirm, and minor children under 12 years of age, belonging to families of laborers, should be supported on the plantation by the planter. Orders also provided that the children under 12, who were not to labor, should have the advantages of schools established on the plantations. The hands were to be classified by the planter and the Provost Marshal of the Parish. There was little complaint about classification. One-half of the wages were to be paid monthly, and the balance at the end of the year. The privilege was given to commute clothing at $3 per month, or $36 per year. The laborers were to have, on an average, for their own cultivation, one acre of land; the head of a family having more land than single persons. The laborers were allowed to keep a limited number of hogs on the plantation, and chickens without limit. The rations allowed were substantially the same as provided for the soldiers in the army. As a general thing, there was no complaint, and no cause for it, as to the quality or quantity of rations furnished. If complaint was made, the truth of it was immediately inquired into by the superintendent of plantations, the Provost Marshal of the Parish, or the military superintendent of freedmen.

How much, per year, did this order of General Banks secure to the laborer? First class hands, for wages, were to receive $96 per year; for clothing, $36. It is a low estimate, owing to the high price of provisions in Louisiana, (20 per cent. higher, at least, than in the North,) to put the cost of rations at 40 cents per day, or $146 per year. I paid for medical attendance, on one plantation, $400 per year, which did not include the cost of medicines. There were upon this plantation about one hundred and forty persons. I estimate the costs of medicines for this plantation at one hundred and fifty dollars—say one dollar per person. (The books, containing the exact cost, are not at command, being at New Orleans.) I therefore estimate the cost of medicines and medical attendance to each laboring hand five dollars and fifty cents per year. How much each laborer realized from the privilege secured to him, in the cultivation of land, garden, &c., I cannot state. The privilege was worth at least $30 per year. Rev. T. W. Conway, Superintendent of Bureau of Free Labor in Louisiana, estimates it at about $50. (See his report of the 9th of September, 1864, to Major General Banks.)

According to the above estimates, each 1st class laborer received, under this order, for wages, $96; for clothing, $36; for rations, $146; for medicines and medical attendance, $5,50; for the privilege of land, &c., for cultivation on his own account, $30; making the sum of $313,50 per year. This sum he was to receive, *whether the employer realized profits or sustained losses.*

There were in this order other privileges secured to the laborer, which I have not included in the above estimate. He was furnished quarters and fuel without charge; his children, under 12 years of age, were not obliged to labor, and were furnished schooling without expense to him. It will be seen that the risk was thrown entirely upon the employer, who should advance means to work plantations.

The order of General Banks, in my judgment, did provide a fair compensation to the laborer.

Did it suggest to capital a fair return for its investment in the business of planting? The result was an affirmative answer to this question. All the capital that was needed was readily obtained, and every plantation within our military lines that could be worked was put in cultivation, and many were cultivated that were in imminent danger of being raided, and some of them were visited by guerillas, to the great detriment of the planter; but this did not deprive the laborer of his stipulated compensation.

The spirit of this order was carried out. The Provost Marshal of the Parish was made the arbiter in controversies arising between the employer and the employed. Some inconvenience grew out of this, on account of the frequent change of Provost Marshals. The employer, as well as the laborer, sometimes complained of the decision and action of Provost Marshals; but, so far as my observation extended, substantial justice was done. In some instances, appeals were taken to the military superintendent, and perhaps to the Commanding General, and alleged injustice inquired into and provided for. If, in any case, this order was defectively executed, it should not be charged to the order, but to the subordinate officer charged with its execution. The laborers, for the most part, labored faithfully and well. Among so many uneducated and ignorant laborers, there would, of course, be idle and vicious ones.

The season of 1864 was an unfavorable one for planting. The spring was late, (as it was in the North,) and too day, at the time of planting; crops did not come up well, by reason of the drought, and in some instances had to be re-planted. When the rains commenced, some time in May, they continued for more than three months, raining almost every day. The ground was kept so wet, it required extra labor to keep the grass from destroying the crops. Notwithstanding the unfavorable season, the prospect of a fair yield of sugar and cotton, by mid-summer, was flattering. Cotton was extensively planted; the scarcety of sugar-cane for seed made it necessary, and the high price of cotton encouraged it.

The Hon. B. F. Flanders, Supervising Special Agent of the Treasury Department at New Orleans, in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury on the 28th day of June, estimated the quantity of cotton that would be raised within our military lines at two hundred thousand bales. This estimate was based on information derived from planters and others, who had the means of making intelligent estimates; and Mr. Flanders is careful and cautious in his statements and estimates. The cotton worms were as destructive last year as they were ever known to be. They almost *entirely* destroyed the crop. Planters that expected from three hundred to five hundred bales, realized only from five to ten. The worm made its appearance in lower Louisiana about the 10th of August, and rapidly extended its ravages northward. The first appearance of the worm destroyed about one half of the crop; and the second, about ten days after, well-nigh the balance. The hopes and expectations of the planter and capitalist were thus destroyed. Neither the order of General Banks nor the laborers were responsible for this terrible visitation. In consequence of the wet season, the sugar cane did not produce much over one fourth of the ordinary yield. A few planters, who had large fields of sugar, paid expenses; but a large majority suffered severe losses. Two millions of dollars will not cover the losses sustained last year in planting within our military lines, in Louisiana. The payment of the laborers, according to the terms of the order, was promptly and rigidly enforced. In cases where the planter or renter was unable to pay, the crops and property on plantations were seized by the Provost Marshal, and held for the benefit of the laborers. In other cases, the capitalist, who received and was interested in the crop, whatever his contract was with the planter, was held responsible for the payment of the laborers. I do not know of a single instance where the laborers were not fully paid. If the cotton worm had not appeared, the profits to the employer and capitalist would have been large; and it was the expectation of this that induced him to embark in the enterprise at the rate of wages fixed by the order of General Banks. This order also practically demonstrated that the freedman will work under the stimulus of wages—a fact that slaveholders and their advocates have persistently denied.

The freedmen of Louisiana, at the close of the year 1864, were comfortably clothed; and many of them saved their wages, and had money in their pockets; their children had the advantages of schools, and made good progress in learning—for schools were established in all of the Parishes, and the number of scholars attending them, including the city of New Orleans, was nearly eight thousand. There was much opposition to these schools; but they were established, sustained and protected by military order. Considering all the circumstances which called forth the labor order, it was, in the main, judicious, and accomplished the object intended. It was temporary in its character and operation, applying only to the year 1864. It was not intended as a government policy for the employment or treatment of the recently emancipated slaves. How they shall be treated is a vexed question, and reason and experience must be the guide of the statesman and the philanthropist. They do not need support as a permanent thing. When lawful civil government is established, protecting equally the rights and privileges of all citizens, it will neither be necessary nor proper to fix the wages of any class of laborers. The freedmen should be secured the rights and privileges of citizenship, and then be let alone. If they are entitled to the same rights as other citizens, they should have the same means of protecting those rights. Under our form of government, the right of suffrage is essential to the protection of the citizen. There are in Louisiana a large class of colored freemen, born free, intelligent, well-educated, owning property, many of them quite wealthy, upon whom the right of suffrage should be at once conferred. It is the prejudice of caste created by slavery which deprives these men of the rights of citizenship, when it is conferred upon ignorant and uneducated men of another color. There are others, who, on account of meritorious services in the army, should immediately enjoy this right. In the language of that great Apostle of Democracy, Thomas Jefferson, "among men who either pay or fight for their country, no line of right can be drawn."

Slavery, I trust, is forever abolished in Louisiana; and if, in the future, her lawgivers secure equal rights to all her citizens; her fertile lands and genial climate, producing figs, rice, corn, tobaco, sugar and cotton; her orange groves, bending and yellow with ripening fruit; and her thousands of miles of navigable rivers and bayous, furnishing ample, cheap, convenient and expeditious means of conveying the products of her soil to market, will invite capital and labor from every civilized country and clime. She will then learn to her advantage that "righteousness exalteth" a State. But if, in the future as in the past, a majority of her laborers are oppressed and disfranchised, she will learn at her cost that injustice "is a reproach to any people."

Respectfully yours,

JOHN HUTCHINS.

THE FREED PEOPLE OF LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 22, 1865.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON:

SIR,—Knowing the interest you have always taken in the colored people of our land, I cannot forbear addressing a few lines to you upon this topic, from this most interesting and important section of our country.

I have visited every point on the Mississippi below Cairo, during the past year, and have come to the conclusion that it is in the "Department of the Gulf," and the city of New Orleans alone, that one gets an inkling of the "year of jubilo" among the Freedmen. The revulsion of feeling, in this part of slavedom, in regard to the colored people, is remarkable. To those who, in other days, oppressed them, or witnessed the pangs of slavery inflicted upon them, the change is incomprehensible.

As it is, it occurs very forcibly to my mind that the Freed people of Louisiana stand a fair comparison in point of actual privilege with those of any of the old free States of which I have any cognizance.

To be sure, there are restrictions, *incident to a state of war and a time of transition*, that abridge perfect personal liberty; but in many cases the white citizen feels the pressure as well as the colored. There are sometimes "stringent measures" and "prohibitions" promulgated. But, after all, the people, white and black, manage to have a good time generally; and not a few of either color contrive to accumulate, not only something of the transient happiness of the hour, but also much of the substance of which the sinews of war are made.

Gaily dressed children, snowy robes, and flowing ribbons, after all, *do* indicate prosperity; and here in the "Department of the Gulf" can be seen, on any remarkable occasion, a concourse of people (colored) as tastefully dressed as may be seen in Chicago or Boston. June 11, 1864, I saw in this city twenty thousand people, all colored, congregated in C—— Square to celebrate the entire emancipation of the State of Louisiana by the new Constitution; and had it not been for the inevitable impress of their race, I could not have told, from the appearance of the people, that I was not in New York or any other Northern city.

The record of that day has never been written. It is impressed, however, upon my memory, and will be evermore.

It was reported, at the time, and truly so, that there were speeches and bursts of song from a thousand lips; and military drill, and *works of art* borne aloft upon tawny shoulders, that would have reflected no discredit upon any concourse of people.

But I could have reported some still better things,—things that evaporate in the writing, yet remain forever upon the eternal records.

So much for the past. If I could tell you all I have seen among these people—of interest, of incident, of faith, of perseverence, of patriotism—it would transcend by far the limits of this brief communication. It is not possible even to refer to these things. To-day, while I write, vast columns of colored children "file" under my window. It is Washington's birth-day, and they are out in their "red, white and blue." The starry banner of the old Union streams over their heads. They are on the way to the "Orleans Theatre"—some are there now. Gov. Hahn is to make a speech. Other friends are there—only one is wanting, [Gen. Banks] ever welcome to the children of New Orleans, white or black.

I could linger long upon what has been done here, and what is now being done—the progress of the schools—the practical recognition of the colored man as a citizen—the foreign element—the comparatively few dependent upon the government—the avidity with which they seize work—the facility with which they "calculate" the advantages accruing therefrom—and the eagerness with which they acquire knowledge. But all this would require a volume.

I can only say, that it is to the efforts of the several commanding Generals who have been here, and their personal interest in this matter, that we are indebted for the present hopeful state of affairs in this respect in Louisiana. Knocking at the door for readmission into the Union, Louisiana has already given the colored man a place in the new order of things. Not the largest immediate avenue to citizenship that might, under certain circumstances, be given, perhaps, but where is a more commodious way? In what State?

His relative position to the State and General Government, in the future, will doubtless be modified by time and events; but his newly accorded rights, under the Constitution of Louisiana, are not to be ignored. Thus he stands firmly upon the Constitution and the sentiment of the people, and he has nothing to do but to avail himself of the privilege of entering, by his own intelligence and perseverance, the field allotted him by law and force of arms.

"By military service, by taxation, or intellectual fitness," he can become a voter. Such is the power conferred upon the Legislature by the new Constitution.

All honor to Louisiana for the open door and the terms of admission! The signs of the times are, that many will be qualified voters.

In the upper portions of the valley of the Mississippi, where the commanders of posts have co-operated in the work, much has been done to mitigate the sufferings of the Freedmen.

The Freedmen of the upper and lower Mississippi appear to be a different class of people. The upper Mississippians are purely American, and Orthodox—below the "Red River," French and Catholic. The former wretched condition of these people has been dwelt upon by all who have visited rebeldom; and yet the truth in regard to them is but little understood. Their story is inexpressible. Words cannot paint the facts. The "illustrated" reality alone gives any idea of the monster (Slavery) whose fangs have deluged our country in blood.

The Freedmen are careful of money, kind to friends, and reticent. Their tears seem all to have been shed; their words of agony or reproach to have all been spoken.

In their opinion, Mr. Lincoln is God's elect, in answer to their prayers; and his "Proclamation" to them is the "Bow of Promise" that there shall be no more slavery.

Indeed, it has come to pass, that all look upon the "Emancipation Edict" of the President of the United States—ratified by the National Congress and enforced by the sword of the people—as a sort of new bow. Formed by our brother's blood in the rays of the Sun of Righteousness, it shall be to us a sign forever in our political heavens. By its holy effulgence, there shall be no more flood.

The efforts that have been made to ameliorate the condition of the Freed people, to instruct them in the principles of equity and humanity, and to induce them to become a truly free, prosperous and happy people, have no where been more successful then in Louisiana; and foremost in the gratitude of this hitherto oppressed people—for the good he has done, and the promptness with which he did it—stands the name of General N. P. Banks.

Very respectfully,

AMANDA H. GEST,

Sup't of Schools N. W. F. Aid Com.

THE COLORED SCHOOL EXHIBITION.

The pupils of the Colored schools of New Orleans will long remember Washington's birthday, of 1865, as one of great festivity. They assembled, together with a large number of invited guests, at the Orleans Theatre, early yesterday morning, and before noon the building was so crowded that several schools had to be sent away. There were probably four thousand persons present. After a prayer by the Rev. Dr. Newman, the performances began with the song, "America," which was very well done, as, in fact, was all the singing, the pupils showing evidence of careful training, in regard to time, etc. The regular programme was then carried out in the following order:

Recitation—Birthday of Washington, Maria Cripps; Song—Good time coming, Mrs. Brice's School; Declamation—Union, Henderson McCraig; Music—Instrumental, Maiden's Prayer, Mr. Arthur Williams; Tableau—The Dawn of Liberty; Declamation—Launching of the Ship, Arthur Guiranovich; Song—Brighter Day, Mr. Williams' School; Recitation—I Hardly Think I Will, Victoria Martin; Song—Uncle Sam's Farm, School of Liberty; Dialogue—The Pen and the Sword, Dr. Randolph's School; Song (in character)—Kingdom coming (Pip); Tableau—The Fruits of Liberty; Recitation—The American Flag; Song of Liberty, Mrs. Brice's School; Essay—Darkness of the Past, Brightness of the Present, V. Martin; Dialogue (not in programme); Song—Dear Mother, I've Come Home to Die; Tableau—Hiawatha's Wooing; Music (instrumental)—Dearest Spot, etc. Mr. Arthur Williams; Recitation—The Negro's Complaint, Fanny Day; Song—Over the Ocean Wave, Mr. Williams's School; Dialogue—The Shape of the Earth; Vocal Duet—Good Night, the Misses Williams; Concluding Song—No Slave Beneath the Flag.

The recitations, declamations, dialogues and songs were fully equal in merit to the generality of school children efforts. The girls showed much greater proficiency than the boys, and the larger part of the exhibition fell to their lot.

The recitation, "Birthday of Washington," by Maria Cripps, was very fine, and Master Guiranovich recited the beautiful poem, "Launching the Ship," with excellent modulation of voice and accuracy of gesture. But the prize performance, in our opinion, was the essay read by Victoria Martin. It is seldom that more correct accentuation is found even among the most experienced readers. A reference to Gen. Banks drew forth hearty cheers for that distinguished officer and statesman, which were repeated at mention of the name of Governor Hahn.

Much merriment was proposed by Pip's song, "Kingdom Coming," and he was called upon for a repetition. "Pip" was dressed as a plantation darkey, with a hoe in his hand, and looked *almost* as genuine as one of the Æolians might have done in his place.

The effect of the tableaux was partially spoiled by their being placed too near the front of the stage, but still they were heartily applauded. The "Dawn of Liberty" was a crowd of freedmen bowed down before the Goddess of Liberty, and the "Fruits of Liberty" was a school-room scene, each pupil studying. The recitation, the "Negro's Complaint," by Fanny Day, was very good.

Mr. B. Rush Plumley, Superintendent of the Colored Bureau of Education, appeared upon the stage, and for about ten minutes spoke most eloquently and earnestly. After apologizing for Gov. Hahn, who was present (with several other State officers,) but prevented from speaking by sore throat, he stated that the preparations for the exhibition had purposely been made short, in order that the native power of the pupils might prominently display itself. He announced that, in a short time, another exhibition would be given, and, if possible, at the Opera House, which is much larger than the Orleans Theatre. He should endeavor to have it take place on the day appointed for celebrating the universal emancipation amendment recently adopted by Congress, and every exertion would be made to have it a complete success. Another song was sung, benediction pronounced by Dr. Newman, and the exhibition was over. The whole affair speaks well for the labors and faithful attention to duty of the teachers of our colored schools.—*New Orleans Delta 23d.*

THE CELEBRATION BY THE COLORED SCHOOLS.

The schools for freedmen, established by General Order No. 38, celebrated the Birthday of Washington at the New Orleans Theatre yesterday. The large number of pupils attached to these schools prevented the Board from admitting the public at large. About three hundred ladies and gentlemen were specially invited. Among them were the most of the distinguished civil and military gentlemen at present in the city. Every foot of space on which a little child could sit or stand was occupied. They were literally packed in like herrings in a barrel, yet they remained quiet, docile, and perfectly obedient to the end of the programme, and then retired with a decorum worthy the emulation of pupils under more favorable circumstances.

We have already published the programme, which was occupied by music, declamations and tableau, but we cannot refrain from calling attention to the purity of tone and perfect absence of those peculiarities of dialect which have furnished the general idea of the traditional "nigger."

There are now about eleven thousand children under the Board, which is composed of but two members, Major B. Rush Plumley, chairman, and Lieut. Edwin M. Wheelock, the secretary. It is certainly the cheapest institution which is hereabouts. The chairman receives no pay, and the secretary a simple lieutenant's salary, and yet its schools extend wherever the Federal flag floats within this Department, from Florida to Texas.—*N. Y. Times, Feb. 23.*

INFLUENCE, PERSONAL AND OFFICIAL.

Most of the readers of this article will have probably already seen the following paragraph, which has lately been going the rounds of the papers:—

MR. LINCOLN AND THE WORKING-WOMEN. A committee of ladies representing fourteen thousand working women of Philadelphia, who are employed by government contractors, recently waited on President Lincoln to represent the needs of the suffering women. The President sent for the Acting Quartermaster General Thomas, told him the story he had heard, and then said: "I shall consider myself personally obliged if you can hereafter manage the supplies of contract work for the government made up by women, so as to give them remunerative wages for their labor."

It is highly creditable, alike to the President's head and heart, that he has thought fit to give his personal influence, in the manner above described, to help on a much needed reform, and relieve some of the suffering resulting from the injustice of the community to the working women. When the thing to be done is both right and expedient, and the neglect or delay of officials to perform it is favored by a widely existing popular prejudice, injuriously affecting vast numbers of people, it is all the more important that the man who chances to wield that influence which the President's office bestows should take the trouble of putting it in action to do the right or undo the wrong. Abraham Lincoln has shown, by the act of mingled justice and kindness above described, that he recognizes this method of action, and this sort of exercise of personal influence, as right and proper.

The above is by no means the only instance in which President Lincoln has thought it well to bestow upon a worthy cause the added impulse which naturally flows from his public expression of favorable opinion. Take two other cases, the latest.

The Boston *Journal* of the 7th inst. states that in Washington, on the preceding day, three Commissioners from the State of Maine waited on the President to present certain resolutions of the Maine Legislature, asking the assignment of two steam vessels of war as a protection to the coast of that State. The President, after friendly conference with the Commissioners, referred them to Secretary Welles, with the following endorsement on the resolutions:—"Submitted to the Secretary of the Navy, with the remark that if vessels can be spared from the general service for the objects within mentioned, let it be done." Without doubt, such an expression of the President's wish helps (it may very greatly help) the matter in question.

Two days before this last occurrence, Mr. Lincoln's second Inaugural Address was published to the nation. Of a noble simplicity and directness, devout, impressive, admirable (as far as it goes,) this Address presents, at its close, certain suggestions of things now to be done, by Government and people together, for the common welfare, as follows:—

"With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wound, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Among the general considerations here presented is one specific one. Most appropriately does the President suggest this particular national duty, "to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans." The nation will undoubtedly do something in this direction; but Abraham Lincoln's heart and head alike urge him to give this just and righteous cause the additional impulse of his public commendation. And for this impulse, and the prompt expression of it, we honor and admire him.

But there is another cause, the justice and righteousness of which are admitted in the sentences of the Inaugural immediately preceding the above extract, namely:—

"If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences, which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern that there is any departure from these divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope and fervently do we pray that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's 250 years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword,—as was said 3000 years ago, so still it must be said that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

Since this offence came by the sin of "North and South," since this sin was not only against God, but against four millions of men, women and children, since the majority of these four millions are now more destitute and far more in need of help than the great mass of soldiers and their families, and since their necessities, moral and physical, call for every kind of help, national and individual, it would have been eminently appropriate, as well as just and kind, had President Lincoln's heart moved him to speak of the nation's debt to the freedmen, and the duty of prompt discharge of it, and the method by which we might best discharge it, in this Inaugural Address. Some such public manifestation on the part of the Executive seems demanded not only by justice, but by present and obvious expediency, since the rebellion is not yet subdued, and the relation of the colored people to it may yet be made a mighty instrument in hastening its downfall. A few words of friendly encouragement and assurance in a direct address to the freedmen, or even the incidental mention, in the Inaugural Address, of a duty due to them from the nation, and of the President's desire that this duty be discharged, would have given immense impetus, alike to the overthrow of the rebellion and to the work of reconstruction which is to follow. If the nation were right in this matter, there would be no need of noticing this omission on the part of the President; but people and ruler alike seem desirous to avoid the right and true ground which Democratic ideas and Christian principles join in requiring, namely; to give the negro an equal place with all others before the law; to give him the right of suffrage, the surest means of enabling him to maintain himself in that position; and to require all functionaries of the Government, civil and military, to help these movements instead of hindering them.—C. K. W.

REPLY OF DR. KNOX.

BOSTON, March 13, 1865.

Editor of the Liberator—When, to gain a victory over an opponent who is defending a principle at public issue, the combatant steps aside, for want of legitimate evidence, to attack private character, it is cowardly. I do not complain of this, but only state the usage. I have long since given my enemies full liberty to hurl their venomous shafts. If my character is not sufficiently moral to stand, let it fall.

Chaplain Fowler was always a dear friend of mine, and I have ever treated him as a brother; believing him to be a true friend of the black man. It is painful, therefore, to see such imprecation coming from him, without any foundation to my knowledge. I am not perfect: no man is perfect. But I am conscious of perfect rectitude in private and in public life.

Now to the point. No charge by Gen. Saxton has ever been preferred against me. I challenge Saxton, or any other person, to prove against me an improper act, or violation of public law.

Chaplain Fowler call me "tyrant"—"poor"—guilty of "impurity of conduct"—"disturber of the peace"—for the truth of which I hold you responsible; but never recreant to the perfect liberty of the negro.

THOMAS P. KNOX.

50 Anderson Street.

☞ Do not fail to read the very satisfactory letter of Hon. John Hutchins, (the anti-slavery successor of Hon. Joshua R. Giddings in Congress,) respecting the administration of Gen. Banks in Louisiana.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XXIX.

NEW YORK, March 9, 1865.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

Fifteen years ago this month and almost very day, the man who would not "re-enact the laws of God," but had no such scruples for those of the adversary, bargained the rights of his fellow-men and the honor of the State which he represented in the Senate for a chance to be President. The fine promises which were his immediate reward turned, like the enchanted coin of the Arabian story, to withered leaves—dreariest of all the dead foliage that rustled presently about his autumnal grave at Marshfield. In the moral triumphs of the present hour, the name of Webster is passed over in silence; for a people who have abolished the Fugitive Slave Law cannot cherish the memory of its most eminent champion. The nation has learned that it is useless to do aught than reaffirm the statutes of the Almighty, and now, by the lips of its Chief Magistrate, acknowledges that "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether," though the treasure wrung from the slave be exacted to the uttermost farthing, and though our blood be drawn in answering streams with his.

What a day was Saturday in the history of the Republic! The peaceful rule of the majority twice vindicated—the inseparability of Liberty and Union asserted in the most solemn and public manner. Mr. Lincoln's compositions no longer stimulate criticism, but challenge admiration. His inaugural address is distinguished by its apt and unimpeachable presentation of the attitude of the two sections at the outbreak of the rebellion, the aims of each, their expectations, and the disappointments which God has evolved for them out of crimson strife. For once, a President of the United States alludes to Deity without cant and without hypocrisy. He quotes from Scripture in the interest of justice. He imitates so closely the language and reasoning of the Abolitionists, that the American Anti-Slavery Society itself might suspect him of plagiarism, and search its records for identical utterances. All honor to Abraham Lincoln, that on the day of his re-inauguration, he contemplates but two objects in the universe—the slave and his Maker. All honor and long life!

At least, let him survive his term. Democracy is proud of him. She has taken him from the dregs of slavery, and made of him a liberator. She has lifted him from the lowest grade of freemen, and set him over all. He was humble, and she gave him power and place, but she failed to render him arrogant or corrupt. She pitted him against the crafty, the plausible, the unscrupulous, and his simple honesty outwitted them. The base-born vanquished the chivalry in the arts of peace and of war. Let the world marvel and applaud! But let him live—the man who retains his head amid the anxieties of State and the dizziness of his elevation. We do not want him supplanted by another who, raised by the same institutions from a kindred origin to a position beside him, reels in a vertigo of conceit and intoxication, and disgraces his entrance into office by maudlin indecorum. The shame of those loyal citizens who heard Andrew Johnson in the Senate Chamber cannot be described in words. The President, who saw himself linked in association with a drunkard—the Cabinet, who were insulted by his unseemly gestures—the Senators, who reflected that he was to be their presiding-officer for the next four years—the People, who trembled for the accident which might make this man President—all lowered their heads in grief, and indignation, and astonishment. The story has not been exaggerated in the newspapers, although it has been left for the anti-administration journals to repeat. There is a private sequel—a scene not witnessed by many—of which it is enough to say that it made one spectator, at least, a teetotaller from that time forth. These are bitter words to write, but they are not so bitter as the national mortification. Mr. Johnson had his reputation in his own hands. He was deservedly popular. He had fought the beasts at Ephesus; he had redeemed his native State; he had just proclaimed her freedom by the vote of the 22d of February. A moment, and he was the second citizen in the Republic; another, only a "poor white" again. *Facilis descensus Averni* by the whiskey-bottle—as easy as the descent to Mauch Chunk on the gravity-railway—not needing a locomotive.

What will the Vice-President do? it is asked. Will he apologize? will he resign? Others inquire if his drunkeness is habitual; will he drink again? The Senate is determined that he shall not in the Capitol, and orders away the liquor-venders. It is fortunate for us that we need not sneeze when a king takes snuff. Mr. Johnson's example is likely to have a wholesome rather than a pernicious effect upon our citizens, but it is hard that an officer of his dignity should be willing to play the *role* of a Helot in ancient Sparta.

Many acts of Congress which could not be followed in the chaos of the close of the session are gradually coming to light. We have, it now appears, a Freedmen's Bureau, under the control of the War Department, and the name is not too narrow, though white refugees are included; for their emancipation is as genuine as that of the blacks, and from the same despotism. Land is to be rented, and ultimately sold in forty-acre lots. There will be ten commissioners, besides a chief. Who the latter will be has not transpired. Gen. Butler is named. Will he consent to support a scheme that deals in quarter-sections? If he does, he will agreeably disappoint.

M. DU PAYS.

INSTRUCTION OF THE FREEDMEN.

The great question to be solved by philanthropic educators, at the present time, is, "How shall the freedmen of the South be so educated and elevated as to make their nominal freedom real? Cupidity and avarice have always stood ready to take advantage of the ignorant and dependent. It will be so in the future. The freedmen are not truly free until taught to read and write. Much effort has been already devoted to this object. Scarcely had the first successful efforts of the war set a few of the slaves free, when teachers were on their way to take advantage of the moment; and from that time to this, enthusiastic and active men and self-denying women have been toiling assiduously to remove those mental chains which a tyranny, too black to name, had been burning into the soul.

The readers of the *Liberator* need from us no incentive to effort in this direction. Community are alive to the importance of the subject. Besides, happily, among the freedmen themselves is found an anxiety to learn, that, of itself, will overcome many defects in the means employed. Every faculty, sharpened by bitter service, will, for a time, be given unremittingly to study so far as access to instruction is possible.

Still, it is not to be supposed that all the freedmen of the South are to be educated at once, by the means now provided. It costs a great deal to educate the people of Massachusetts, with all the accumulated facilities of centuries. Considered as a matter of expense, the education of freedmen must be for a long time with the future, as it has been with the past, a tax on the beneficence of the Christian people of the North. So far from securing any assistance in the South, we have a million or more of poor whites appealing to our charities for education, almost as forcibly as the freedmen do.

We have an object in these reflections: it is this. The field of labor is so vast, the issues at stake so grand, and the means to be employed are so disproportionately small, that any means of saving time or expense, or of enhancing the value of a given amount of labor, becomes of great importance.

This question has a wide significance. The same principles that apply to the instruction of freedmen apply to the instruction of the ignorant the world over. God has taught us, by the lessons of the past years, how a new moral tone may be infused into a nation by even the necessity to do justice to the oppressed. He will yet teach us how, through our efforts to educate elevate and bless the colored man, we can raise the standard of education through our whole country. So marvellous are the designs of Providence. God so directs that no flesh should glory in his presence.

We propose, in one or more subsequent articles, to unfold this subject further. We propose to show how the freedmen may be taught to read by a new process—one-tenth the time, and, of course, one-tenth the expense now incurred. And we believe that this plan will be found to be not merely to most economical, but the only means by which education can ever become general among them.

PHILIP.

NOTICE TO SOLDIERS' AID SOCIETIES.

The undersigned proposes to address the Public upon the subject of "OUR SOLDIERS' AID SOCIETIES; their past, present, and prospective usefulness." She hopes in this way to assist the Aid Societies in their efforts in behalf of Country and Humanity, and requests in return their coöperation with her; but asks no pecuniary recompense. Aid Societies desiring to hear her, will be expected to furnish a hall, or other place of meeting, admission free. Whether a collection be taken or not, for the benefit of the Society, is left to the choice of the ladies.

Though the home of the undersigned has been for many years at the West, she is much in sympathy with Eastern people, much of her early life having been spent among them. She has spent the last three months in Washington, D. C., becoming familiar with the condition of soldiers as there found in hospital, and the efforts put forth for their relief.

S. BURGER STEARNS.

Among various other highly satisfactory testimonials, Mrs. Stearns has the following:—

From Hon. J. M. Gregory, Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan.

ANN ARBOR, March 5th, 1864.

I have listened with profound pleasure to a lecture of Mrs. S. BURGER STEARNS, on the Past, Present, and Future of the Soldier's Aid Societies. Should her views be adopted, a great and glorious good to Humanity would grow from these patriotic organizations of the loyal woman of our country. I have known Mrs. STEARNS for several years, and cordially commend her to the confidence of her country-women, as a lady of unblemished reputation, of high talent and scholarship, and of earnest and philanthropic sentiments of public good.

J. M. GREGORY.

From Prof. L. D. Chapin, of the Michigan State University.

Mrs. S. BRUGER STEARNS has been long and favorably known in this vicinity as a lady of fine intelligence, most irreproachable reputation, and generous sympathy with all that is good. These will commend her to the courteous consideration of every gentleman and Christian. In that most magnificent charity of this or any other age—the Soldier's Aid Societies—her sympathies, her intelligence, and her well-chosen words, qualify her to become a worker, whenever and in whatever way the efficient labor of women can be employed. On her self-appointed and unselfish mission in the relief of suffering, she carries with her, from this place, the kindly interest of all who have known and honored her.

L. D. CHAPIN.

We trust Mrs. Stearns will receive numerous applications to lecture.

At Fraternity Hall, last evening, a lecture was delivered by Mrs. S. BURGER STEARNS, wife of Col. O. P. Stearns, 39th Regiment, U. S. C. T., now at Fort Fisher. Having been introduced by Mr. Fitz, President of the Fraternity, Mrs. STEARNS announced "The Lost Pleiad," as her topic for the evening. Regarding the constellation of the Pleiades as representing the sisterhood of womanly virtue, the lecturer dwelt upon the deep significance of the fate of Merope as illustrated in the various relations of woman. Considering the lost star, however, as personifying the dependent, helpless, and friendless, Mrs. STEARNS enumerated the various circumstances whereby this class is exposed to peculiar dangers, viz.: lack of employment, the paltry pay received when employed, deficiency of education, want of a home, and the absence of Christian love and sympathy. These evils and their remedies were considered, and the duties which devolve upon us in view of them. Mrs. STEARNS possesses an agreeable voice and a graceful and pleasant style. The lecture was listened to with great attention by the good audience present.—*Boston Journal.*

A MOST JUST ACQUITTAL.

SUPERIOR COURT—EAST CAMBRIDGE, BRIGHAM, J. THE NEWTON SCHOOL CASE. This case, which was for an alleged assault and battery upon one Albion D. Emerson, was brought to a close last week. The defendant is the principal of a large and flourishing school at West Newton. Emerson was at the last term one of his pupils, and was on the morning in question tardy with others. The tardy scholars were told to remain in during a part of the recess and learn the hymn which had been sung that morning. The others remained in, but Emerson disobeyed and went out; was sent for, came in and took his place and began studying the hymn. He then whispered, which was against the rules of the school, and when questioned about it told a falsehood, denying it. Mr. Allen punished him by shaking him. The prosecution urged that the punishment was excessive, and one of the pupils who was present swore that Mr. Allen threw Emerson down and he *thought* put his foot upon him, but was not positive. On the other hand, twelve or fifteen pupils who were present and witnessed the occurrence, testified that nothing of this kind took place, but that the shaking was a light or ordinary one, and that no violence whatever was used; that the boy laughed the moment Mr. Allen's back was turned, and said Mr. Allen would "get his pay for that;" and that afterwards, in reply to questions from the other boys, he said it did not hurt him any, but he would pay Mr. Allen.

The government undertook to argue that the boy's subsequent death occurred from this punishment at school. It appeared that he was perfectly well the next day and played ball at the play-ground, a large field of eight acres, and wrestled. And in accounting for his sickness to five or six of his playmates and several others, he said that he fell upon one of the stone bounds in the play-ground and injured his side. This he stated very particularly to Dr. Stedman of Boston and Dr. Adams of Newton, who attended him, and explained to them how it occurred.

Dr. Geo. B. Emerson, for many years a member of the Board of Education, Mr. John D. Philbrick, Superintendent of the Public Schools of Boston, Hon. John A. Goodwin of Lowell, late Speaker of the House of Representatives, Hon. Thomas Rice, Dr. Bigelow, Dr. Brown, E. C. Collins, Esq., Mr. J. W. Plympton, and many other prominent citizens of Newton, Dr. Lewis, Mr. Wm. E. Sheldon, and many other gentlemen who have known Mr. Allen long and intimately, testified to the uniform excellence, kindness and humanity of Mr. Allen's character as a teacher and a man.

The defence was that this was a moderate and proper punishment for disobedience, without anger or malice, proper in kind and form, and had none of the elements of an assault and battery, and nothing to do with the boy's death.

Judge Brigham charged the Jury fully upon all the points involved. The jury retired about 10 o'clock Friday morning, and after being out a short time rendered a verdict of NOT GUILTY, which completely exonerates Mr. Allen from the charges brought against him.

Isaac S. Morse (District Attorney) for the Government; Wm. Brigham and R. R. Bishop for the defendant.

☞ Details of Sheridan's victory over Early have been received and the rebel prisoners arrived at Winchester. Sheridan succeeded in capturing eighty-seven commissioned officers, eleven hundred and sixty-five enlisted men, thirteen State and battle flags, seven cannon, one hundred wagons, ambulances and other vehicles. Among the rebel officers captured were General Early's entire staff—Colonel Orr, chief of artillery, and Vosburg, commanding brigade. General Early did not attempt to rally or encourage his men, but fled when he saw Custer and his troops manœuvering for position. He rode off on a fleet horse, attended by an orderly, and proceeded through the Blue Ridge, via Rockfish Gap, and towards Charlottesville.

☞ The *New South*, alluding to the recent raid of the Fourth Mass. Cavalry upon the town of Gillensonville, S. C., says:

"On that occasion, the Court House, Jail, and one or two other public buildings were destroyed, but not for the simple purpose of gratifying a thirst for ruin. It seems that a short time before our cavalry visited the place, a Union colored soldier who had formerly been a slave of one the inhabitants was captured by the rebels and unceremoniously beaten and hung. As an act of retaliation for such a barbarous proceeding, the firing of the buildings in Gellinsonville was ordered and carried out."

The Port Royal *New South*, of February 11th, announces the burning of the house in which John C. Calhoun was born and lived until within four years of his death. The house was situated at Braddock's Point, and has been used as a Signal Station ever since the occupation of Port Royal by our forces. The fire was accidental. It was supposed that the body of Mr. Calhoun reposed in the tomb upon the estate, but such is not the fact. After the death of the great agitator, the property passed into the hands of members of his family, and subsequently into the possession of his overseer, whose body was placed in the tomb.

THE FREEDMEN OF GENERAL BUTLER'S LATE DEPARTMENT.

General Ord, according to the Washington correspondent of the *Advertiser*, has recently attempted to undo much that was done by General Butler in regard to the management of Freedmen in that department:

General Orders No. 26, from General Ord's Headquarters, direct Lieut. Colonel John Coughlin, 10th New Hampshire Volunteers, Provost Marshal of the Department of Virginia, to take charge of all funds, property, books, papers and material pertaining to the bureau of negro affairs in the district of the Peninsula, and relieve Captain C. B. Wilder, Assistant Quartermaster, as Assistant Superintendent. He will thereupon report at the army headquarters for duty. This order further directs that rolls be made of all able-bodied negroes in the district, showing age, sex, number of children, number of persons depending upon them, etc. A police force of able-bodied men will be organized into companies, to be mustered and paid as soldiers, and all other able-bodied men will be enrolled, to employ themselves at some useful public or private labor, or will be mustered in as soldiers. The unemployed will be given one week to find employment, or decide whether they will enter the United States service as soldiers, teamsters, or laborers. Mechanics, skilled laborers, oystermen, and others who can and will employ themselves at their business, will be encouraged to do so and assisted therein.

All taxes upon such employed negroes will hereafter be remitted. The wives and families of colored soldiers will be protected and supported. Where such persons have no parents or children to support, they will be required to find employment for themselves, and in case they cannot do so, places will be provided for them as nurses, laundresses, or in private service. No special price for labor will be fixed at present, except in the government service. The colored population now working farms on their own account, or under the direction of the bureau of negro affairs, will be encouraged in such employment. Capt. C. B. Wilder, thus summarily displaced, is a Boston gentleman. He has been in the charge of negro affairs in the Point Comfort District for three years, and was made Assistant Quartermaster by Secretary Stanton, with instructions to report directly to the War Department, in order that he might be untrammelled by orders of department commanders. It is understood that the ladies of his family have long been engaged with him as teachers among the negroes. As soon as the order of General Ord reached the War Department, it was suspended by Secretary Stanton, and Captain Wilder was directed to report in person at Washington. His arrival here is followed by charges preferred against him by General Ord. How far they can be sustained remains to be seen. This case involves the whole management of negroes in that department, and will be likely to elicit some important orders from the War Office. It is very certain that Secretary Stanton will disapprove some features of General Ord's plan, which it will be seen makes no provision for old, infirm, helpless negroes, nor for young children, and practically amounts to their banishment from the department.

ADMIRAL DAHLGREN'S PROCLAMATION DECLARING SLAVERY ABOLISHED—A MODEL DOCUMENT.

Upon taking possession of Georgetown, S. C., Admiral Dahlgren proceeded at once to organize a new government, of which the Washington correspondent of the *Advertiser* gives the following account:

Instances in which the naval officers have been called upon to inaugurate the authority of the government at important points are so rare that the manner in which Admiral Dahlgren began his work is noteworthy. His general order No. 16, of February 26, is as follows:

1st. Conformably to the laws of the United States, slavery no longer exists within the limits of the Union. Persons residing here, who thus become freedmen, will in future enjoy the fruits of their own labor; but as a reasonable provision for their inability to immediately provide for themselves, their former owners will furnish each one of them with sixty days' food of the usual descriptions. Freedmen can join the colonists on the Sea Island, or may enlist in the military service of the United States. 2d. Those inhabitants who have remained in the place, and are not excluded from the benefits of President Lincoln's amnesty, are invited to return to their pursuits as peaceful citizens. 3d. Martial law exists in Georgetown, but the city authorities will discharge so much of their functions as may be required of them. 4th. Such laws of the place as are in harmony with the laws of the Union will remain in force. 5th. The civil authorities will cause the churches to be opened as usual, but no clergyman will be allowed to omit the customary prayers for the President of the United States. 6th. They will furnish a list of all inhabitants destitute of food, and also of all who may be able to contribute for the relief of the needy, that they may be assessed accordingly. 7th. The sale or gift of spiritous liquors is strictly forbidden. 8th. The inhabitants will remember that their own authorities have placed them under the protection of the United States. They will therefore be careful to avoid all participation with the enemies of the United States, and will be punished severely for offences of this kind. 9th. The commanding marine officer present will act as provost marchal.

It is worth remarking, in connection with the first section of this order, that in requiring former owners of slaves to furnish them with sixty days' provisions, for an outfit to begin life as free persons, Admiral Dahlgren goes one step further in the right direction than any other officer ever has.

ESCAPE OF CAPTAIN AVERY. Captain William B. Avery, 132d New York Infantry, who it will be remembered was captured by Conners and his gang, in July, 1863, outside our lines at Bachelor's Creek, has just rejoined his regiment, having made his escape from the Bull Pen at Columbia, S. C., Nov. 24th, 1864. He was twenty-three days in reaching the national lines, first getting sight of a blue-clad soldier in the vicinity of Knoxville, Tennessee, December 15th. The Captain was accompanied in his flight by Lieut. Hallett, 2d Pennsylvania Cavalry.

They were subsisted and piloted in their long and arduous journey of over three hundred miles by negroes, until they reached the borders of Tennessee, when "guidance, food and fire" were cheerfully furnished by the loyal white men of the mountains. The negroes, wherever met along their rough and rugged pathway—very many of whom had never before ravished their eyes with the sight of a live Yankee—evinced the wildest joy at meeting the Captain and his comrade, in several instances throwing their arms around the fugitives' necks, and crying like children over them. The Captain says, in every instance where he entered a negro cabin he was heartily welcomed, made to share the scanty store of corn bread and beacon left to the wretched slave, securely concealed from pursuing foes, and when

"Night threw her sable curtain down,
And pinned it with a star,"

guided on his way to liberty and "Old Tennessee."

Captain Avery's sad experience in the Confederate prisons and bull-pens of Georgia and South Carolina, his hardships, trials, and sufferings, together with the refined cruelties to which he was subjected, in common with other Union officers who shared his long captivity, offer abundant material for a volume of thrilling interest.

THE REBEL SENATOR HUNTER'S OBJECTIONS TO NEGRO ENLISTMENTS. *New York, March* 12.—The speech of Senator Hunter in the rebel Senate is published. He voted for the bill to arm and emancipate the negroes under instructions from the Virginia Legislature, but entered his protest against it as an abandonment of the contest and an abandonment of the grounds upon which the South seceded. He also showed from statistics that no considerable body of negro troops could be raised in the States over which the government had control without stripping the country of the labor absolutely necessary to produce food, and stated that the commandant of conscripts, with authority to impress 20,000 slaves, had since last September been able to get but 4000, of whom 3500 were from Virginia and North Carolina, and the balance from Alabama. Mr. Hunter also argued that the negroes would not volunteer, and those we did get would desert to the enemy, who can offer them a better price.

CONSTANTINOPLE, Jan. 27, 1865.

The best friend of America in Turkey is dead. Mehemet Pasha, Grand-Admiral and Secretary of the Navy, died last Friday, either from poison or from sudden and violent inflammation of the bowels. It is generally believed that he was poisoned; but as the Mohammedan faith does not allow post mortem examinations, this can never be certainly known.

Mehemet Pasha will be remembered in America as the Turkish Pasha who visited the United States in 1858, and was received with distinguished honor, both by our government and the citizens generally. These honors he has never forgotten, and the name of American has always been a passport to his favor. He often said, and evidently from his heart, that he looked upon every American as his brother.

DEATH OF AN AGED PERSON. Deacon John Phillips, of Sturbridge, died on Saturday last, at the advanced age of one hundred and four years, seven months and twenty-eight days. Deacon Phillips voted for President Lincoln last fall, and the scene at the town meeting where he cast his last Presidential vote was subsequently fully described in *The Journal*. The President, since his reëlection, wrote a letter to Deacon Phillips, expressing gratitude for his support, which we also published.—*Boston Journal.*

☞ Before the recent adjournment of Congress, Mr. Ashley, in the U. S. House of Representatives, offered a preamble, that

Whereas, in consequence of the rebellion, and since the Proclamation of Emancipation, a large number of persons of color have been brought from the States of Maryland, Virginia and other States, and left in and around the national capital; and

Whereas, it is reported that many of them have died for want of food; and

Whereas, it is reported that from ten to twenty thousand are in want; and

Whereas, it is reported that hundreds are in the service of the United States, and fighting in defence of the government; therefore,

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs inquire into the truth of said reports, and that the Committee report what action, if any, is necessary in the premises, with leave to report by bill or otherwise.

The proposition was agreed to.

☞ Unlike Charleston, the wealthy inhabitants of Savannah have not left the city, but remain quietly at their homes. The inhabitants daily assimilate more and more with their Yankee rulers. The anniversary of the birth of Washington was celebrated with great pomp and display. The flag of the Union floated from the Custom House, the Pulaski House, the *Republican* office, and many other public buildings; bells were rang and salutes fired.

The churches of Savannah are well filled on the Sabbath. Many of the blacks were enlisting, while others were proceeding to the Islands to settle in obedience to the order of General Sherman.

The people of Savannah, though still secesh in feeling, unequivocally express the opinion that the Confederacy has "gone up." The last hope is extinguished.

A SMALL FORTUNE. By information from Savannah, we hear again, says the *Commonwealth*, of the hero of the "Planter." He was lately at Savannah, and fell in with an old shipmate, a white man, who was formerly employed at Charleston by the same merchants as himself. Glad to see him, and recognizing his ability, Small offered one hundred dollars per month to sail with him as mate. "I can do it, easily," said Small, "for since the war began, I have made *thirty thousand dollars*, every cent of which is invested in government securities." Most creditable to Robert Small, who shows himself in every act worthy to be recognized as a "citizen."

HORRIBLE TREATMENT OF UNION PRISONERS. The *Herald's* Wilmington correspondent says a large number of Union prisoners were released by the capture of the place. They were confined in Camp Lamb, about one mile from the city. Their treatment was of the most brutal character, and for three days preceding the evacuation they had not received a mouthful to eat! The citizens had endeavored to feed them, but the food was taken away by the officer in charge. They presented a most sickening spectacle, many of them having been rendered idiotic, and had forgotten their own names.

☞ On the 10th inst., about 3000 prisoners arrived at Annapolis, most of them in a sad state of emaciation, and nearly destitute of clothing. Several died on the passage, and five died when taken from one boat. Some 1500 of the poor fellows had to go to the hospital. A large number of rebel prisoners passed through Baltimore the same day to be exchanged—all in good health and well clothed, and many of them with carpet bags full of clothing.

☞ Hon. John P. Hale was on Friday nominated to the Senate by the President, as Minister to Spain, vice Koerner of Illinois, who resigned last fall. The nomination was at first sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations, but Mr. Trumbull moved its immediate confirmation, and his motion was seconded by Mr. Sumner. It was so confirmed, without opposition or reference.

HOW EQUAL SCHOOL PRIVILEGES RESULT IN BOSTON. Our Providence friends, who are fighting the fight of equal school privileges, may be pleased to know that one of the black-skinned girls in Miss Penniman's school in Hudson street, in this city, went to the Winthrop school last Monday, with one hundred per cent. of correct answers, beating every white girl but one in the district, and she a little Irish girl!—*Commonwealth.*

PROVIDENCE, (R. I.) March 11. Major T. C. Jameson, 8th Rhode Island Artillery, who was lately tried by court martial and sentenced to three years' imprisonment at Norfolk, and to pay a heavy fine, is at once to be released by order of the President, who has examined the case and disapproved the findings and sentence of the court.

☞ Vermont ratified the Constitutional Amendment prohibiting Slavery at a special session of her Legislature on the 9th inst. The bill passed the Senate unanimously; the House by 217 to 2. Vermont is the eighteenth ratifying State.

☞ The Louisiana Legislature, on the 17th ult., ratified the Constitutional Amendment. The vote was unanimous in its favor in the House, and wanted one vote only of being so in the Senate.

☞ Parson Brownlow has been elected Governor of Tennessee, under the new free State Constitution.

☞ John C. Fremont was fined twenty-five dollars by a Judge of a New York circuit court, on Monday, for non-attendance as a juror.

A NEGRO JUROR. A colored man has been drawn as a juror in Providence, and will take his seat among the others. Hitherto it has been customary, when a colored man's name was drawn, to pass it over, but now a new course is to be pursued.

A NEGRO ADMIRAL. The *Levant Herald* announces that Pir Mehemet Pasha, the only negro Admiral in the Turkish service, died recently at Eyoub, at the advanced age of 92. The sable veteran was the father of Mehemet Pasha, commander of the troops composing the garrison of Pera.

☞ In less than two months almost a thousand pieces of cannon have been taken from the rebels. Evidently the Confederacy is going to pieces. "Save the pieces!" is a vain cry at the South.

☞ Tennessee has adopted its Free State Constitution by a vote of over 50,000, and thus setting free 275,000 slaves.

☞ Negroes are coming into Newbern in droves, frightened by the prospect of being drawn into the rebel armies. They say if they must fight, they will fight for the North.

☞ BALTIMORE, March 12. Another lot of Union prisoners arrived at Annapolis to-day, most of them very sick. To-day the funeral of fifty-four soldiers took place. It presented a sad spectacle.

☞ The *Index* continues its efforts to frighten England into a recognition of the South, by pointing out that Lee's army is for the present the defence of Canada, and the uncertain tenure of that defence.

☞ The *Army and Navy Gazette* states authoritatively that the rebel government has cancelled orders for large numbers of torpedoes, and infers that they intend to abandon the coast, or have faith in an early peace.

GEORGETOWN, S. C. The district of Georgetown, now occupied by Admiral Dahlgren, is the richest rice growing section in the Union, and must have been of great importance to the rebels. It was also one of the heaviest slave districts, only 2394 of its people having been whites in 1860, while 18,253 were slaves.

☞ Brig.-Gen. Joseph R. Hawley, formerly editor of the Hartford (Conn.) *Press*, has received command of the district of Wilmington, which embraces all the territory in the rear of Gen. Schofield's army operating from Cape Fear River as a base.

☞ It is said that when the President, on Saturday, took the oath of office, with his hand on the open Bible, the Clerk of the Supreme Court had left it, without premeditation, open at the fiftieth chapter of Isaiah.

☞ Hangman Foote, who is now en route to Europe, positively refused Mr. Seward's request to take the oath of allegiance, stating that he would never return to the Confederacy, that it was a failure, but he could not renounce his own country. Permission was then given him to leave for Europe on parole, not to return during the war without permission.

☞ Ciprian Risaud is worth over a million dollars, and is the richest colored man in the United States. The colored people in New York have many rich men, among them Peter Vandyke, Robert Watson, J. M. Gloucester and Mr. Crosby, who own about $3,000,000 in property, real estate and otherwise.

WELL DONE, NEW HAMPSHIRE! The State Election took place in New Hampshire, on Tuesday last, and resulted in a great Union triumph—the election of Frederick Smyth, of Manchester, for Governor, by 7000 majority. Marston is elected to Congress by about 1500 majority; and Rollins and Patterson by 2000 majority each. All the Republican Councillors, nine of the Senators, and 100 Union Representative majority, are elected.

When "Carleton" had decided to take the steps of the slave auction-block in Charleston to Boston, he asked a slave to help him take them to the boat. "No, massa, can't do it." "But I'll pay you for it." He shook his head, "But I'm a Yankee," said Carleton, "and I'll pay you in good Yankee money." The slave took hold of the steps instantly with a will, and they were on the boat in the shortest possible time. He would work for a Yankee, but not for a rebel.

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THE TRIBUNE, New York.

Jan. 27.

☞ MRS. FRANCES E. W. HARPER will lecture in Institute Hall, Roxbury, on Thursday evening, March 23. Subject: Mission of the War. Admission, 15 cents. Lecture commences at 7 3-4 o'clock.

MRS. HARPER. This lady addressed an audience last evening in the Rev. Mr. Freeman's church, in Prince street, upon the subject of "The Future Relations of the Negro to the Government." Although the address was new in its character, the same evidences of talent, thought, originality of ideas, logic and excellent common sense were exhibited as in her previous addresses. Her reasoning is most conclusive. If the citizens of Brooklyn were aware of her rare ability, the Academy of Music would hardly hold the audiences that would desire to hear her.—*Brooklyn (N. Y.) Union.*

MARRIED—In this city, March 3, by Rev. Mr. Neale, Mr. CYRUS FOSTER to Mrs. MARY L. TYLER.

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FOR the United States Navy; seamen, stewards, cooks, ward-room boys, and two barbers for special service. Large pay, bounty and prize-money. Apply in person, or by letter directed "Newton's Naval Shipping Office," 6 Wall Street, New York. March 17.

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WITH corrupt, disordered or vitiated blood, you are sick all over. It may burst out in pimples, or sores, or in some active disease, or it may merely keep you listless, depressed, and good for nothing. But you cannot have good health while your blood is impure. AYER'S SARSAPARILLA purges out these impurities, and stimulates the organs of life into vigorous action, restoring the health and expelling disease. Hence it rapidly cures a variety of complaints which are caused by impurity of the blood, such as Scrofula, or King's Evil, Tumors, Ulcers, Sores, Eruptions, Pimples, Blotches, Boils, St. Anthony's Fire, Rose or Erysipelas, Tetter or Salt Rheum, Scalt Head, Ringworm, Cancer or Cancerous Tumors, Sore Eyes, Female Diseases, such as Retention, Irregularity, Suppression, Whites, Sterility; also, Syphilis or Venereal Diseases, Liver Complaints, and Heart Diseases. Try AYER'S SARSAPARILLA, and see for yourself the surprising activity with which it cleanses the blood and cures these disorders.

During late years, the public have been misled by large bottles, pretending to give a quart of Extract of Sarsaparilla for one dollar. Most of these have been frauds upon the sick; for they not only contain little, if any, Sarsaparilla, but often no curative properties whatever. Hence, bitter disappointment has followed the use of the various extracts of Sarsaparilla which flood the market, until the name itself has become synonymous with imposition and cheat. Still we call this compound "Sarsaparilla," and intend to supply such a remedy as shall rescue the name from the load of obloquy which rests upon it. We think we have ground for believing it has virtues which are irresistible by the ordinary run of the diseases it is intended to cure. We can only insure the sick that we offer them the best alterative which we know how to produce, and we have reason to believe it is by far the most effectual purifier of the blood yet discovered by anybody.

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March 3.

"A THING OF BEAUTY IS A JOY FOREVER:"

AND nothing is so beautiful as A FINE HEAD OF HAIR. All preparations for the hair are injurious. By using Professor Wilson's process, you can have beautiful, lively, curly hair in four weeks; costs but a few cents. Warranted to give satisfaction. Try it. Enclose 50 cents to Wilson & Co., P. O. Box, 2821, Philadelphia.

March 3.

A FARM OF 1500 ACRES

FOR SALE.

THE St. Mary's Lake Farm, 3 1-2 miles North from the city of Battle Creek, Calhoun county, Michigan, is offered for sale. The proprietor wishing to retire, offers this Farm for sale on reasonable terms as to price and time of payments. The Farm consists of 1500 acres of as rich agricultural land as can be found in the Northern States; 1000 acres of which are improved in the best manner. There are on this farm thirty-seven miles of rail and board fence, mostly new. St. Mary's Lake is one of the most beautiful sheets of clear crystal water in the country, and one of the finest fishing lakes in the State. This lake is in the centre of the farm, and is a mile and a quarter long by one third of a mile wide. The surroundings of this lake are unsurpassed for beauty of scenery. There are some eight or ten beautiful sites for residences on either side of the lake. No low marshy grounds connected with the shore of the lake. There are about 400 acres of timber, and 100 acres of the best marsh meadow land on the west side of the farm. The buildings are, the large Farm House, 88 by 56 feet, elevated 50 feet above the lake, commanding a view of a great portion of the farm and of the lake; also, a large frame Boarding-House, and seven frame Tenements; two large Barns, 153 by 70 feet each, with stabling below for 130 head of cattle; also, four other Barns, 50 by 40 feet; also, a Steam Circular Saw Mill, 80 by 60 feet—said to be one of the best mills in the State; an Orchard of 800 apple and 1200 of the choicest peach trees, all in fine bearing order; 350 standard pear trees, a large number of plums, cherries, quinces, and a great quantity of grapes and small fruits, too numerous to mention. Perhaps there is not a 1500 acre farm in the Union better adapted to cattle and sheep-raising than is this farm, every field of which has never-failing water. The land is moderately rolling, and no outlay need ever be made for manures. There is one of the most extensive Brick-yards on this farm in the interior of the State. A more beautiful residence cannot be found than is on this farm. A gentleman having sons to settle around him could arrange to make six or eight beautiful farms, each having a large front on the lake, with a beautiful sandy beach. Battle Creek City is one of the best markets in the State, and is 120 miles west and 162 miles east from Chicago on the Great Michigan Central Railroad. No situation is or can be more healthy. All the water on the farm is clear as crystal, soft and excellent. This farm affords a rare chance to one wishing to go into stock and sheep raising; it is now seeded down to clover and timothy. The farm, with all the stock, sheep, farm utensils and 250 tons of clover and timothy hay, is offered at the greatest bargain.

Letters of inquiry, addressed to me at Battle Creek, will receive prompt replies. I refer to Henry C. Wright, Charles C. Burleigh and Parker Pillsbury, who have visited the St. Mary's Lake Farm.

HENRY WILLIS.

Battle Creek, Nov. 18, 1864.

LOST,

ON Wednesday afternoon, 8th inst. in Worcester depot, Boston, a calfskin Wallet, containing about $70 in green backs, and seven or eight wheat receipts, dated Battle Creek, Michigan; also, a bill of sale of wheat, and several other papers; a draft in favor of Anthony Burton. All said papers are of value to me, and cannot be of any value to the finder, who will confer a favor by enclosing said papers to me by mail to Battle Creek, Michigan, and as much of the money as they may wish, after retaining ample pay for their trouble.

H WILLIS.

Battle Creek, Michigan, Feb. 13.

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

THE PICTURE.

Inscribed to the Teachers of "Contrabands" in the Southern States.

BY GEORGE B. PECK, M. D.

Oh! a picture came before me,
Of a million broken chains
Lying cankered with old blood-drops
Which had oozed from tortured veins;
Reddening the fleecy cotton,
Snowed upon the Southern plains:
And the picture's tints grew deeper,
Redder, blacker, as I gazed;
And my weak knees smote together,
And my eyes grew dim and glazed,
At the vision's spectre horrors
From the graves of vengeance raised!

For where live-oaks and magnolias
Gloom the earth with densest shades;
Where the snake and alligator
Sink in endless everglades;
Where the cloud-lace-fretted sunset
Lingering, longest night evades;
Where the eagle builds his eyrie
Nearest to the fervid skies;
Where the buzzard swoops to fatten
On the prey that lingering dies;
Where the blood-hounds' hellish baying
Stills the hunted bondman's cries;
There uprose, all ghostly shadowed,
Hosts of wasted, haggard forms,
And their wild eyes glared and glittered
Like heaven's fire in dark-browed storms;
And with outstretched arms towards me,
They came rushing in thick swarms.

And I saw upon their foreheads
Letters, where the iron burned,
And their backs left gashed and harrowed,
Where the lash for life-blood yearned;
And their lank limbs, fester-eaten,
Showed where gnawing shackles turned.
There were gaunt and frensied mothers,
With wan children in their arms;
There were youths, and there were maidens,
Curses, tears, and wild alarms;
There were auction-blocks and hammers,
Where were bartered beauty's charms!
And my heart grew chill within me,
And my frighted blood congealed,
As my soul's eye raised the shadows
Which, like curtains, half-concealed
Deeper horrors, depths of anguish,
Left till God's Day unrevealed!
And my soul went up in sighing
To God's ear, "And Thou dost know,
High and Holy! men are devils—
Earth like hell is drowned in woe!"
Came an answer, "But my war-blast
Hath dealt Sin a staggering blow!"

"Father! though the chains be broken,"
Cried my soul, "the wounds remain
Deeper than the irons wore them,
'Neath the brow within the brain—
'Neath the body in the spirit:—
Is thy war-blast not in vain?
How shall knowledge, how shall virtue
Dwell with ignorance and sin?
Where is found that earthly saintship
Can consort with devils' din!
Who the saintly, self-denying,
Through hell's door would look within,
E'en to save the devil's victims,
Snatch them from the cooling flames—
Kiss with love their long-charred spirits,
Breathe new souls into their names,
Wing them to the climes supernal,
And to angels' loud acclaims?"

Came an answer, "Lo, I call them,
Ministers of love I call!"
Then I waited in God's silence—
With God waited over all,
Till I knew how God forgetteth
No one worthy, great or small.

For I saw from where the ocean
Drifts its rythms to the beach;
From where mountain-snows eternal
Far towards heaven as stainless reach;
From where gold and russet harvests
Of God's 'whelming bounty teach;
From where all are always freemen;
From where colleges and schools
Free the mind from old-world trammels,
Unfit men for tyrants' tools;
From where firesides and altars
Govern hearts with golden rules,
Came, as flowers come in spring-time,
Dropt from Winter's icy hand,
Came to cheer, to teach, to brighten—
God's commissioned shining band,
Came with hands and hearts o'erflowing,
To renew the Southern land.

And I watched how spirit-anguish
Songs and smiles soon soothed, allayed;
And how soul-wounds, touched by kindness,
As by Christ, could heal and fade;
And how darkness fled affrighted
Where these angels wept and prayed;
And my soul went up in praising,
To God's ear, "Yea, Thou dost know,
High and Holy! men are devils—
Earth like hell is drowned in woe;
But Thy war-blast, in Thy mercy,
Hath dealt Sin a staggering blow!

That eve, her cup of joy too fully poured,
She stole in silence from the social board,
And lone in twilight sat, with gladness weak,
Feeling the warm tears rolling down her cheek.
Next day, as one who fears some spell to break,
Or dreams some dream of heaven, and would not wake,
Her words were soft and few; half unawares
She passed the channel of life's common cares
Beneath the brightness of her joy's full glow,
As streams in tropic sunlight softly flow.

She loved the red rose of our childhood's bowers,
She crowned the lily queen of all the flowers;
The lowly daisy to earth's bosom pressed,
She deemed more fair than gems on Beauty's breast;
Faint primrose of our fairy-haunted dells,
And gypsy beauty of our foxglove-bells
Were fair;—but *this* flower, culled by poet hand,
On that belov'd New England river's strand—
Henceforth no other flower of earth shall be
One half so fair and dear to her—and me!

Boston, Feb. 28, 1865.

For the Liberator.

WILD-FLOWERS.

BY LEAF-ON-THE-WIND.

"O memory, fragrant with the bloom
Of heather-bells and roses!"

I miss them ever on this Western strand—
Those starry daisies of my childhood's land;
Yet when the new-freed brooks go laughing by—
When May's first sunlight glads this clear, deep sky—
What dimpled fingers dabble in the dew
To pluck the tender violet's hidden blue;
Or twine the dandelion stems in whorls,
For shining mockery of their tangled curls?
Yet dearer far than even the daisies are,
Or any blooms of my first home afar,
Is a sweet wild-flower of intensest blue—
(Dear friends, I will not name its name to you,
But I may whisper it on dying bed,
And ye shall plant it o'er me when I'm dead.)
There's one I know, (I knew her when a child,)
Whose every heart-chord thrills and vibrates wild,
Echoing the rich notes of a lyre whose grand,
Bold songs of freedom fill the listening land—
Struck forth obedient to a master-hand!
She—dreaming one—took thought, in one wild hour,
Thrilled to her wildest by that music's power,
To beg some token from that master-hand
Whose lyre's re-echoing freed the chained land:—
A written name, to weep o'er and to bless,
And touch with lips of reverent tenderness;
Or some small leaf or blossom, sacred-sweet
From passing pressure of a poet's feet.
The Bard's great brow, beneath its laurel crown,
Bent down, nor dimmed its brightness, bending down;
The darkly-beautiful eyes in kindness smiled,
And it was granted—that petition wild;—
Some written words, as sweet as heart can think,
And those blue blossoms from the river's brink!

That eve, heaven's amber sunset-gates flew wide
With too much pressure of the glory-tide!
It overflowed and whelmed its cloudy shore
As never purpling sunset did before!
She, looking from her chamber window, saw
The miracle; but with more joy than awe;
And lost in praise, as clouds in sunset flood,
She knelt before the Giver of all good.

The Liberator.

THE ABOLITIONIST OF TO-DAY.

Congress has passed the Resolution to amend the United States Constitution prohibiting slavery forever within its jurisdiction. The loyal legislatures are performing with alacrity the welcome duty of ratification. Even Kentucky seems disposed to make the best of the existing state of affairs, and sanction the amendment. New Jersey pauses to discuss it. Delaware alone has rejected it. Some day her children will seek to erase this record of their recreant fathers. The time seems to be rapidly approaching when no chattel slave will be found within the limits of the Federal rule. Every true heart leaps with joy, thanks God, and renews his allegiance to the Eternal Justice which never slumbers. The work which the Abolitionist began thirty odd years ago seems about to be accomplished. Then was the day of small things for the cause. Its advocates were few, and of little influence; their social position was low; their experience small; their judgment untried; their knowledge limited; their powers undeveloped; their idea in embryo, simple, unapplied. In that idea, which they clearly saw, they had faith. With it for rod and staff they began the upward way. Never for an instant has their faith been clouded. Over the hosts of opposing powers they saw the hand of the Lord leading them. No obstacles, no persecution, no contempt, no threats daunted them; courageous when all others were fearful, hopeful in the midst of gloom, they saw light when to the common eye the world seemed shrouded in darkness. When the storm of civil war arose, they saw the Christ walking on the fiery billows, leading a despised and outcast race up to the table-land of a common humanity, and by a stern necessity drawing the nation thitherward.

Looking from that stand-point of thirty years ago, it seems as if the work of the abolitionist was well-nigh accomplished. The rod and staff are loosened in his grasp; he ungirds his loins, and sings praises to the Lord. But where *is* the abolitionist of 1830? *What* is he? He has travelled far; he is older, taller, wiser, more influential, and more experienced; his powers developed on every side; his ideal grown so stately and symmetrical, assimilating to itself all of justice and divine love these years have brought him, that the desire of his heart then, though noble and substantial, seems dwarfed and incomplete compared with his present aspirations and aims. He says, "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child," &c.

This growth in manhood is the crown awarded to every devoted abolitionist. He prizes it more than silver or gold. Let him not lay it down. He has toiled from the base of the mountain to a lofty peak; his horizon is enlarged, the atmosphere is clearer; celestial voices say, Come up higher! With renewed strength and faith he travels on towards the heights of justice, and adds new jewels to his crown.

In considering the duty of the hour, the abolitionist should not overlook, (how can he forget?) this expansion of his idea from the first germ. All along, it has nurtured his soul and ministered to his growth. Beginning in simple emancipation from chattel slavery, it has led him to discard a false Church, to arraign an unrighteous Government; to disfranchise himself in order to keep himself unspotted from the world. It has enabled him to recognize the claim of woman to plead for the down-trodden and dumb. It has given him courage to raise his voice against that idol of the nation—a wicked Union—until it tottered and went down in blood. It has opened his eyes to all forms of oppression, ecclesiastical, social, industrial and political. It has made him the foe of all injustice, the friend of all mankind.

Such is the abolitionist of to-day. What is his work? The duty of this hour was not, could not be foreseen in the early days of the Anti-Slavery struggle. Who so far-sighted as to prophesy secession, and consequent reconstruction? the abandonment of State privileges and duties by traitors in arms, and the necessary assumption of Federal authority? Who expected the slave to be lifted into a position where, through the trumpet of Providential events, he could dictate terms to his haughty oppressors?

> "New occasions teach new duties;
> Time makes ancient good uncouth;
> They must upward still, and onward,
> Who would keep abreast of Truth."

A wider sphere of duty is opened to the abolitionist, in the reconstruction of the rebellious States, so to enlighten public opinion, and mould it by that idea which thirty years of experience and a critical examination of the present enable him to perceive fitted to bring true freedom to the negro, and permanent peace, union and prosperity to the country. Now, as always, his duty lies nearest to him,—to see to it that, in admitting the first remodeled State, no sham freedom shall be palmed upon the colored citizens bearing the name without the solid substance of liberty; that no precedent shall be established which does not give them the same rights possessed by other men under our form of government, without regard to complexion.

Louisiana knocks for admission into the Union with a Constitution and laws reconstructed under the surveillance of military authority,—a large portion of its most loyal citizens excluded from a voice in its reconstruction; slavery abolished in name, retained in the form of labor organized under oppressive regulations; the majority of the laboring class deprived of the ballot, dependent on the social interests or political whims or smothered hatred of their former oppressors for legislation and the administration of justice; cut off, if the State come in, from the not too friendly hand of the Federal Government. Is this the kind of freedom that the abolitionist of to-day is content with? This is a species of slavery which, considering the present circumstances and opportunity, is as inexcusable as was chattel slavery in 1830. Let Louisiana give the ballot to her colored soldiers who have fought the battles for the Union; to those who can read; to all under the same limitations, as possessed by her white citizens, before she is admitted into the renovated Union. Let us agitate this question of suffrage without complexional distinction. Let every Senator and Representative in Congress look at this subject in the light of the *present*—or at least, in the light of the early, truer past. He should not be influenced against a Constitutional amendment in the slightest degree by any black laws on the statute-book of his own State. They are of the dark and dreary past. All things have become new,—have come out of the baptism of blood illuminated. He is to act at once on this question. He cannot afford to wait to erase the far-off error for mere consistency's sake. Let him investigate the subject now in Louisiana. He can do it more impartially, more candidly than at home. He can see more clearly the injustice of the proscription there; can discern that the ballot for all is the safety of the Union, as well as the protector and educator of the citizen. He will examine it until he is convinced that his duty is to apply the principle to Louisiana as a precedent; that in no other way can he so much honor his own State, and tell the world that this unworthy prejudice has been washed out by the precious blood of her sons. In no other way can he so efficiently labor to efface from her own book its unwise and undemocratic statutes.

When your boat has upset, and, with the help of your companion, you have righted it, and clambered in and drawn him in after you, you do not ungratefully abandon him. You give him food and restoratives and protection; put an oar in his hand, and both row to the shore. The slave has rescued you from the gulf of disunion; you have lifted him out of chattel slavery. Educate him, elevate him, give him an equal chance with the white man; above all, give him the ballot, and, with this oar in the hands of all loyal men, the ship of State may be safely guided to true liberty and peace.

It is proposed, in case the requisite number of States shall adopt the Anti-Slavery Amendment, that the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society call a special meeting to celebrate the event, and to terminate its existence as an Anti-Slavery organization. It is certainly becoming and desirable to meet and rejoice over such an event; but, instead of terminating the existence of the Society, I would have the abolitionists trace with gratitude and renewed courage their past progress and growth; survey from their present commanding position the work still to be done; hold up before the eyes of all the ideal which now beckons them on; insist upon that justice which will make emancipation doubly sure and fruitful,—insist upon it now when chaotic elements are taking form, and can be shaped. We have lifted slavery in this country out of the *literal* slightly into the figurative; we are all the better fitted to eliminate from it the figurative until at least we reach the fanciful. Then we may talk about closing up. To disband would be to ignore the growth of the past, to repudiate the demands of the present, and to extinguish the hopes of the future. The effect would be to check the progress of liberal ideas.

The majority of the people see and acknowledge that the abolitionist was right, and that under the tremendous pressure of existing circumstances, it is wise to do right. Their moral sense is awakened; it needs to be strengthened, developed, fostered, in order to pursue the right. Should he abandon his work, even in form, the impression upon the minds of the people would be, that there is nothing more of importance to be done; that he has learned nothing during this quarter of a century of labor; that he has no broader view. But the contrary is the fact. To-day the abolitionist sees that freedom from mere chattel slavery, great and important as that fact is, is not all that is needed to make freedom subtantial, perpetual, progressive, and a blessing to the nation. To-day, equality before the law, education by every means, industrial, social, political, are rights belonging to colored Americans, are the duty of the rulers. It matters not whether you call them natural rights or not; they are rights which our principles of Government, our Christianity and our position make imperative.

This desire to dissolve all Anti-Slavery organizations is surprising, viewed in the light of past experience and present need. It ought not to be done so long as the full-grown abolitionist of to-day finds his work incomplete; so long as he sees the black race bound by any chain which the white spurns; so long as there is a law or a custom which puts the negro under, where he cannot protect himself, and the white man up, where he can grind and oppress. What benefit can arise from such hasty dissolving and disrobing? Self-gratulation on the work thus far accomplished is well, exceedingly agreeable; but shall we carry it so far as to blind our eyes to impending danger, and risk the future of the negro and the nation by abandoning our work? These bodies have never been political, organizations, seeking merely or mainly to influence the body politic, to alter the laws of the country, that they should abdicate as soon as the law was changed; but eminently a moral and religious power, lifting up the hearts of the people to acknowledge God and obey his commandments; a power which, having superseded the so-called church of Christ in the land, by fidelity to God and truth, holds the hearts of the people near to duty, receives the confidence and respect of all true men and women in this hour of moral triumph. Shall we extinguish this beacon light, blot out this guiding star? Can we trust the churches of the land to finish the work which time and progress have so enlarged before us, with the experience of their past history fresh in our minds, and the prospect of new temptations which the reconstruction of rebel States will afford?

This amendment of the Constitution, wrung from an Administration which has hitherto endeavored to put Union before Justice, goaded to the measure by fear of rebels in arms and an increasing war debt more than by any fear of God or love for man; sanctioned by the people from various motives, high and low; this amendment does not indicate that the hearts of men are turned towards Eternal Justice, so rooted in principles; as to be able to dispense with the salutary ministrations of the abolitionists; especially when one half of the country is kept under by bayonets, and there is momentarily danger that the Freedmen will be turned over to the tender mercies of those whose anger they have incurred by a noble and brave defence of the common country. "Let us stand, therefore, having our loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness; and our feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, and the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore let us take unto ourselves the whole armor of God, that we may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand."

Whatever may be the action of Anti-Slavery Societies, the *Liberator*, which is the exponent of no Society, trammelled by no organization, prominently free, generous and just; which has enlarged its vision and its heart at every step of the Anti-Slavery march, must not be abandoned, must not falter, must not be struck blind or dumb. It must speak for the oppressed everywhere. It must peer into every corner of every political party, and into every nook of every sect, drag out and expose every semblance of slavery; brand it as fearlessly as ever, criticise as impartially, as unsparingly as ever. Its clarion voice must be heard above the clash of arms, higher and clearer than the conflict of political campaigns, commanding as the voice of God. It must represent the abolitionist of to-day.

H. O. S.

Framingham, Feb. 16th, 1865.

THE LAW OF LIBERTY.

A cardinal principle of American politics, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," discloses the essential law of democratic freedom—that each man has a right to do what he wills, provided he invades not the equal right of every other man to do the same. Hence, the first and chief office of government is to let people alone; is to respect and guarantee the right of individuals or society to withdraw from government; the right to ignore and abolish it. Slave-drivers, Provost-marshals, Tax-gatherers, Lieut.-Generals, Presidents, can approach citizens, communities, States, only with an humble "By your leave." Our people furnish two flagrant violations of this law, viz., the enslavement of a weaker race for the supposed interest of the stronger; and the present bloody effort to compel the South to own the Government they have disowned. Mr. Lincoln speaks for human nature as well as for the North, in making emancipation a condition of reunion; but when he proceeds to enforce that condition by the sword, or even commands insurgent States to return to the Union except on the choice of their own people, he is, to them, a tyrant and a usurper. And in resisting his attempt to force their allegiance, they in turn become the exponents and defenders of constitutional freedom. The North now offers to Europe the amazing spectacle of the descendants of Washington, Adams and Franklin in deadly conflict with the idea which gave their ancestors a name in history.

Not to put forward my own opinion merely on so grave an issue, let me bring a witness whose word has weight with all parties. John Quincy Adams, in an address to the New York Historical Society in 1839, pp. 68 and 69, solemnly affirms that the people of any State have the same right to withdraw from the Union that the colonies exercised in seceding from Great Britain in 1776. Even Mr. Lincoln says, (*Congressional Globe*, 30th Congress, 1st session, p. 94,) that "whenever a people, or the minority of a people, *have the power*, they have the right to shake off an existing government, and form a new one; that this is a sacred right, which he hopes and believes will liberate the world." And in a despatch to Minister Adams, April 11, 1861, Mr. Seward adds, that so far from denying the doctrine of secession, "*the President willingly accepts it as true*"! But step outside of politics, and listen to one whose memorable service to both civil and religious freedom entitles him to be heard in this connection. In a pamphlet letter to Mr. Sumner, (Secession, Concession, &c., pp. 13-19,) Rev. James Freeman Clarke holds this extraordinary language:—

"To us it seems clear that, according to the fundamental principles of our Government, the secessionists are right in their main principle. If a State considers itself oppressed in the Union, it has a right to leave it peaceably. Secession is only another name for peaceable revolution. If the South have a right to go, certainly we have no right to prevent them; and that they have a right to go is asserted by the Declaration of Independence, and in nearly every State Constitution. . . . We approve the right when it is exercised by an Italian State; shall we deny it only to the people of our own States? . . . If the British Government had agreed to our independence, the revolution would have been only peaceable secession. Who was to blame for its not being so? The power which refused to let us go peaceably. If a State has a right to obtain its independence by force, it certainly has a right to obtain it peaceably. The right of revolution cannot deny the right of secession."

This forcible and exhaustive statement is exactly in point; for while secession by fraud and violence, and for the wicked purpose of perpetuating slavery, is not justifiable in its motive and means, we should yet distinctly remember that war and invasion to prevent it are also wrong; and slavery disappearing in the progress of the struggle, the North, as ministers of aggressive subjugation, come to be entirely in the wrong, and the South, as exponents of self-government and the inalienable privilege of revolution, entirely in the right. It is apparent, therefore, that the abstract right of a State to withdraw from the Union, when a majority of its own people desire it, should not only be frankly conceded to the South, but that for the North to succeed in crushing out that right, which, according to Mr. Lincoln, is to "liberate the world," would be the greatest calamity that could befal the nation. The vote of Congress to amend the Constitution is a step towards impartial freedom, so far as it is the first official declaration of the North against slavery; but in the effort to engraft that measure upon unwilling States by desolating violence, many abolitionists, to gain negro rights, strike down *human* rights, and unconsciously lend themselves to the furtherance of a murderous despotism. Happily, however, natural justice will prove too strong for them, and the inevitable laws of compensation will assert themselves. Thomas Jefferson reached up from Virginia, and crushed the Puritan oligarchy of New England; Garrison and Sumner in turn overthrow the slave oligarchy, and force the South to do justice to the negro; while Calhoun and Robert E. Lee must again reciprocate the compliment by lifting Massachusetts up to the knowledge and recognition of a great democratic principle, the right of secession.

E. H. H.

LETTER FROM CHAPLAIN J. H. FOWLER.

BEAUFORT, (S. C.) Feb. 24, 1865.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

A word on the "Negro Question"—a question which I regard as purely artificial, but which seems to get itself much discussed by both friends and not friends of the negro.

From my experience of several years before and since the rebellion with this people, and from forty years' experience with mankind in general, I believe there is no occasion for the discussion of this subject. The many foolish propositions from exportation to miscegenation that have been made as settlers of the question, show of themselves how little the facts of the case are kept in view by those who theorize upon the subject. The negro is a man. When slavery ceases, manhood begins. When oppression ends, justice commences. An ignorant negro is simply an ignorant man, slavery and prejudice out of the way. A poor negro is a poor man who has fallen among thieves, and been plundered; all he wants is honest men generally, and a few good Samaritans particularly. The poor whites of the South are as destitute, as ignorant, as helpless, as are the freed negroes. What they want, the negro wants, nothing more—missionaries, teachers, food and clothing for the present emergencies.

What every landless man, black or white, wants is LAND. Give to every man this. What every wronged man wants is justice. Give the victims of slavery, black and white, this, and exact it of them, i. e., give them their natural rights, and protect them in their enjoyment, and compel them to respect the same in others. Treat them as men, and expect manly conduct of them, and leave the rest to God and nature. The negro is not a fool. It requires but little practical common sense (much less than almost every negro I have seen possesses) to get a good living for one's self and family in such a country as this, when any thing of a fair chance is given. I believe the negro, as freed here and throughout the South, is cursed by too much meddling, too much superintending. In some instances here, negroes have hired and bought plantations themselves, and in every such case they have done far better than when they have been under supervision of white agents. Almost invariably they do the best where most left to themselves. I know we have twenty men in our regiment, raised mostly here in South Carolina, on these Sea Islands, better capable of managing the affairs of a plantation than any twenty superintendents ever sent into the department, and probably we have as good superintendents and as good systems as any in the country. But we don't want superintendents, we don't want systems—we want honest men and women from the North to come here as teachers, as missionaries, as farmers, as mechanics, as merchants, as producers of all kinds, to be subject to the same laws as the negro. Then let Competition, with Liberty and Justice do her work.

Since writing the above, I have read a portion of General Butler's excellent speech in Music Hall. I think he mistakes General Sherman's order. It certainly is not the practice, thus far, to exclude teachers, missionaries, and even superintendents from the colonies; nor is it intended to banish the negro to these islands and rice fields; nor are these bad laws for the negro—they are what he chooses. We regard it as simply a privilege in behalf of the negro against the white speculator.

Yours, truly,

J. H. FOWLER,
Chaplain 33d S. C. Reg't.

FUGACIOUS CHATTELS. The hegira of the colored population to Yankee land still goeth on nightly. Saturday night, several squads successfully ran the gauntlet, and escaped. Four of these negroes went off on a passport obtained for herself and them by a characterless white woman. We are glad to see that Mr. Burnett of Kentucky has introduced in the Senate a bill to abolish the office of Provost Marshal. We hope the useless and vexatious system will have the fate which we feel gratified to believe awaits the Provost Marshals.—*Richmond Whig.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON THE LABOR QUESTION.

On Friday evening, Wendell Phillips delivered a lecture in Portland on the subject of "Capital and Labor." We copy the following report of it from the *Courier* of that city:

As introductory to his main topic, Mr. Phillips said, this might be deemed a small audience; but an experience of more than thirty years had shown that the advocacy of unpopular ideas is never at first attended by large numbers. No reform which is radical and thorough ever commences on the flood tide of success, therefore when I come here and find one, two or three hundred men, who are willing to listen to arguments and facts, bearing upon the relations of Capital and Labor, I deem it hopeful evidence of a rapid and certain triumph. It is not numbers that govern the country, though I know we have a phrase that majorities govern. This may be true in the actual count of the ballot, but not in regard to the influences which direct and control the government. It was not a majority that made the South rebel, or that keeps it in rebellion; for let one thousand men in the South die to-night, and there is no confederacy to-morrow.

The first element of success in any reform is *character*, not numbers. Give me here in your city ten men of fair average ability, who think for themselves, and who shall be agreed upon a given point, and I will prophesy that in ten years the legislation of your city will be controlled by them. We are here, a few of us; but if there are fifty who think for themselves, and will stick to it, I am certain that in seven years the politics of the city will be subject to their will.

Another point to be remembered is, that all efforts at changing the old opinions and habits of a country are discouraging. There is no royal road to success in this matter; we must meliorate and crumble up the old opinions and influences of society, and mould them to the new idea. But once right, the foundation is permanent and solid. It is also to be remembered that we work not alone. In all these reforms, men but start the axe into the log, while God drives it home to the heart. This was illustrated in the German Reformation, in the bread-tax agitation in England, and in the anti-slavery reform in our own country. Garrison, thirty years ago, only inserted the axe, but God by this rebellion has driven it home to the utter rending of the system of human bondage. So in this work we have only to argue candidly, persistently, and we shall find circumstances playing into our hands, and giving us the victory before we expect.

The first and cardinal idea with which we should enter this work is, that Capital and Labor are not enemies, but friends; more than this, twins; more than this, Siamese twins; they cannot live a separate life. They are almost identical, being only parts of the same whole. Capital is only the labor of yesterday which has not been consumed, and Labor is only the capital of to-day that has not been refunded. Capital is but frozen, crystalized labor, and labor is but capital dissolved and become active. There cannot be a war against the same thing in its different stages. Capital is the means which the rich man has to work with. It is the labor of his father—if bequeathed by his father—or of that which he himself has bought or saved. What is labor? Labor is a man's time, a man's capital, a man's means of working. It is only a different name for the same thing. There is no antagonism—the one can hardly exist without the other. The speaker here proceeded to illustrate still farther this indissoluble alliance between Capital and Labor, and declared it useless and absurd not to recognize this alliance.

We are endeavoring not to fight Capital, but to study the relations between Capital and Labor. Let this idea be the entering wedge of this discussion, which is to agitate the next thirty years. The spindles of our Northern cities must turn twice as fast as they now do, and New England must have more customers, which she has hitherto lacked. Probably six millions of dollars annually will cover the whole amount of goods that have found their way to the South from the North. Capital can only be prosperous when labor is so too. This was illustrated in the case of the one thousand freedmen at Port Royal, who in a single year purchased thirty thousand dollars' worth of Northern manufactures, while as slaves they had not consumed one thousand dollars' worth of the same things.

Our second step should be to see what weapons we have for carrying on our work. In England, where the movement is twenty-five years old, they have but one weapon—Intimidation. There are two means of influencing communities. One is to starve and frighten, the other is to argue and convince. The English operatives were deprived of the use of this latter method; they therefore used the former—they struck, and they did right. Control the public mind, and you govern the community. In the long run this is true, whether in Russia or America. The English operatives knew this, and they struck, meaning not simply to frighten but to stun the public mind into thought. But strikes are a clumsy contrivance, like medicine, to be used when there are no other methods of effort.

We too in America must make the people think. How? Labor must get the ear of the nation. How? You cannot govern a nation by frightening it, but by making it think. The journals must be made to discuss this question, and the people to read the discussions.

The English secured this by strikes, but you have a far shorter and less expensive method, a much nobler and more effective weapon. Let it be known that you propose to use your political power and throw your ballots in a way that shall compel the discussion of your principles. I hold that the hours of labor should be such that capital shall receive a fair compensation, and yet give the laborer the largest possible leisure to become educated and refined. This limit must be determined by experiment, conducted by the intelligence and intellect of the country.

How shall such coöperation be secured? Suppose we say we believe that the hours of labor should be eight hours, and that we will vote for no man who does not accept this; what would be the result? Why, all the newspapers, all the education, all the intellect, all the ability of your city, which you could not hire for a hundred thousand dollars, will be voluntarily yours. When you thus compel the press, the caucus, and the people to listen, your work is more than half done. We expend, in Boston, $700,000 for schools. Why? Because the rich and powerful know that every baby hand will sometime hold a ballot, and it is for their interest that that hand be guided by education. So in this matter, let society be made to understand that we hold ballots, and of itself society will carry on the discussion, and prosecute the experiment for us. I advise thus, not for the sake of putting this or that man into office, but as a means of compelling the attention of the mind of the nation. When the community is convinced that we are right, our wishes will soon become law. The *ballot compels* attention. Tell society, then, that no man shall go into office without passing through your sieve, and the whole question will be settled in five years.

POPULAR LECTURES.

The Atlantic, for March, has a very readable article from the pen of Dr. Holland, on Popular Lectures. We quote one of Dr. Holland's criticisms upon a bad feature of the system. He says:

Another requisite to popularity upon the platform is earnestness. Those who imagine that a permanent hold upon the people can be obtained by amusing them are widely mistaken. The popular lecture has fallen into disrepute with many worthy persons, in consequence of the admission of buffoons and triflers to the lecturer's platform; and it is an evil which ought to be remedied. It is an evil, indeed, which is slowly working its own remedy. It is a disgraceful fact, that in order to draw together crowds of people, men have been admitted to the platform whose notoriety was won by the grossest of literary charlatanism—men whose only hold upon the public was gained by extravagances of thought and expression which would compromise the dignity and destroy the self-respect of any man of character and common sense.

It is not enough that these persons quickly disgust their audiences, and have a brief life upon the list. They ought never to be introduced to the public as lecturers; and any momentary augmentation of receipts that may be secured from the rabble by the patronage of such mountebanks is more than lost by the disgrace they bring and the damage they do to what is called the "Lecture System." It is an insult on any lyceum audience to suppose it can have a strong and permanent interest in a trifler; and it is a gross injustice to every respectable lecturer in the field to introduce into his guild men who have no better motive and no higher mission than the stage clown and the negro-minstrel.

But the career of triflers is always short. Only he who feels that he has something to do in making the world wiser and better, and who, in a bold and manly way, tries persistently to do it, is always welcome; and this fact—an incontrovertible one—is a sufficient vindication of the popular lecture from all the aspersions that have been cast upon it by disappointed aspirants for its honors, and shallow observers of its tendencies and results.

Of the platform as the stand-point for the utterance of free thought, the writer says:

The popular lecturer has been the devoted, consistent, never-tiring champion of universal liberty. If the popular lecturer has not been a power in this nation for the overthrow of American slavery—for its overthrow in the conscientious convictions and the legal and conventional fastnesses of the nation—then have the friends of oppression grossly lied; for none have received their malicious and angry objurgations more unsparingly than our plain-speaking gentleman who makes his yearly circuit among the lyceums. No champion of slavery, no advocate of privilege, no apologist for systematized and legalized wrong has ever been able to establish himself as a popular lecturer. The people may listen respectfully to such a man once; but having heard him, they drop him forever. In truth, a man cannot be a popular lecturer who does not plant himself upon the eternal principles of justice. He must be a democrat, a believer in and an advocate of the equal rights of men.

A slavery-loving, slavery-upholding lecturer would be just as much of an anomaly as a slavery-loving and slavery-singing poet. The taint so vitiates the whole æsthetic nature, so poisons the moral sense, so palsies the finer powers, so destroys all true sympathy with universal humanity, that the composition of an acceptable lecture becomes impossible to the man who bears it. The popular lecture, as it has been described in this article, has never existed at the South, and could not be tolerated there. Until within three years, it has never found opportunity for utterance in the capital of the nation; but where liberty goes, it makes its way, and helps to break the way for liberty everywhere.

It is a noteworthy fact, that the popular lecturer, though the devoted advocate of freedom to the slave, has rarely been regarded as either a trustworthy or an important man in the party which has represented his principles in this country. He has always been too free to be a partisan, too radical and intractable for a party seeking power or striving to preserve it. No party of any considerable magnitude has ever regarded him as its expositor. A thousand times have party speakers and party organs, professing principles identical with his own, washed their hands of all responsibility for his utterances.

Even now, when the sound of falling shackles is in the air, and the smoke of the torment of the oppressor fills the sky, old partisans of freedom cannot quite forget their stupid and hackneyed animosities, but still bemoan the baleful influence of this fiery itinerant. Representative of none but himself, disowned of all parties, acknowledging responsibility to God and his own conscience only, he has done his work, and done it well—done it amid careful questionings and careless curses—done it, and been royally paid for it, when speakers who fairly represented the political and religious prejudices of the people could not have called around them a baker's dozen, with tickets at half price or at no price at all.

When the cloud which now envelops the country shall gather up its sulphurous folds and roll away, tinted in its retiring by the smile of God beaming from a calm sky upon a nation redeemed to freedom and justice, and the historian in the light of that smile shall trace home to their fountains the streams of influence and power which will then join to form the river of the national life, he will find one starting far inland among the mountains, longer than the rest and mightier than the most, and will recognize it as the confluent outpouring of living, Christian speech, from ten thousand lecture platforms, on which freemen stood and vindicated the right of man to freedom.

LIBERAL THOUGHTS.

Extracts from a *Sermon*, preached by Rev. H. W. BELLOWS, D. D., in All Souls' Church, New York, January 8, 1865, on "The Reformed Church of Christendom, or the Duties of Liberal Christians to the National Faith at this Crisis of Opinions."

"Imagine a set of practised but honest politicians assembled at Chicago, or Baltimore, to lay down the platform of the national party for the coming period of reconstruction, anxious to promote the best interests of the country and to move the people rightly, yet with a feeling that every plank in their platform must be squared to popular prejudices or popular comprehension, and you can understand how a considerable part of the doctrines of popular creeds first found these expressions which now so much astonish and shock us. They were suited to different times. It is still true that the masses of men require their religious interests and the truths connected with them to be taken out of their relations with all other interests and truths, and exhibited and urged by themselves, and this necessity involves an inevitable caricaturing or distortion. It is impossible to make an institution of religion, to set apart a special class of men to teach it, to embody it in a creed, and to recommend it by symbols, without overstating or misstating or understating its character and spirit. You cannot teach anatomy except on the *dead* subject, and the dead body instantly loses some of the functions and even some of the forms which anatomy most needs to understand. Therefore it is impossible to teach anatomy under perfectly favorable circumstances, vivisection not being practicable with men as with dogs. Religion, to be truly known and understood, should be seen only in its actual working in the good and pious heart, and useful and devout life of a human being in full use and development of all his various faculties. You might as well take the blood out of the veins and arteries, and hope to explain and discuss its constitution and functions in the vessel that caught it, as take the pious affections or beliefs or aspirations of a man out of his whole nature and circumstances; his intellect, affections, imagination, will, and bodily frame and visible surroundings; out of his physical, social, economical and historical circumstances, and hope to explain religion without exaggeration, error, accommodation, and, in short, without general imperfection in the result. All religious statements are, by the nature of the case, crude approximations to the truth,—hints, suggestions and helps, (sometimes, alas! hindrances) to the conception of the blessed and infinite truth we aspire to. * * *

The world is kept from Christ by the very creeds that profess to tabernacle and enshrine his presence; and those creeds, by their offensive and irrational character, have driven their antagonists into errors of an opposite kind. Thus Unitarianism would not exist but for Trinitarianism. We really want neither, but only true *Christianity*. The Trinitarian and the Unitarian divide the real Savior between them; the Trinitarian goes off with Christ, the God, and the Unitarian with Jesus, the man, and both lose Jesus Christ, who is God in man. We had a *God* before Christ; we had holy, spotless *men* before Jesus; but God manifesting himself in the face and life of man, we had not before Jesus Christ; and it is this which is the life and perpetual glory of the gospel. I believe the time has come when liberal Christians (if we must bear that presumptuous name) must recognize the duty of leading on the church universal to a more honest, brave and frank confession of faith. All the signs of the times indicate a dissatisfaction with the unadjusted relations between men's opinions on other subjects and their religious opinions. This antagonism, or want of harmony, cannot last forever. Science, experience, practice may for a while have one faith, and churches and divines and missionaries another. We may for a while affect to believe on Sunday what, without any consciousness of wrong or loss of self-respect, we practically disbelieve and show that we disbelieve on Monday and all the other working days of the week, but we cannot keep it up forever. It is precisely analogous to our attempt to keep alive both our respect for the Declaration of Independence, and our respect for human slavery; their essential incompatibility is ever chafing, and finally wears through all our restraints, and brings about that settlement of which the bloody score is now reckoning,—a settlement in which the Declaration of Independence knocks slavery out of existence as the alternative of being itself destroyed!

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